DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 053 723 JC 710 222

AUTHOR	Lombardi, John
TITLE	Black Studies in the Community College.
INSTITUTION	American Association of Junior Colleges, Washington, D.C.; California Univ., Los Angeles. ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Coll. Information.
REPORT NO	Monograph-13
PUB DATE	71
NOTE	75p.
AVAILABLE FROM	American Association of Junior Colleges, One Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 ($2.00)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	*African American Studies, *Black Community, *Ethnic Groups, *Junior Colleges, *Negro Attitudes, Negro Education

ABSTRACT

A questionnaire, college catalogs, other institutional publications, the national media, and personal statements of educators were among the tools used in this examination of community college efforts to adopt Black Studies programs. The major findings were: (1) Black Studies courses are widespread; (2) enrollments are adequate; (3) enrollments are mainly of black students, with only a few non-blacks; (4) most of the instructors are black; (5) control of the programs is mainly by blacks. It was also found the Black Studies programs have influenced other minority or ethnic studies programs and that regular course offerings are being affected by them. This monograph covers the origins of the programs, the courses and curriculums, the curriculum development, the usage of the terms Negro, Afro-American, and Black, continuing issues, and the future of Black Studies. A more exhaustive study is recommended to distinguish between promising and unpromising practices of present institutional policy. (HH)

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BLACK STUDIES IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

By
John Lombardi

UNIVERSITY OF CALIF.
LOS ANGELES

OCT 13 1971

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Monograph No. 13

JC 710 222

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Printed in U.S.A.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Guidance in all phases of the research was provided by Arthur M. Cohen, Principal Investigator, and Florence B. Brawer, ERIC Coordinator of Special Projects. The research was ably administered by Edgar A. Quimby and Joyce Durden, project assistants. In addition, the author expresses his appreciation to Ann Starkweather for editorial assistance, and to the staff of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges for the many tasks they performed toward the successful completion of this project.

FOREWORD

The survey reported in this Monograph was prompted by the need to examine the community colleges in their attempts to adopt Black Studies programs as a result of the nationwide emergence of Black Studies in colleges and universities. A research instrument and a variety of other materials were relied on for information.

A one-page questionnaire (Appendix A) was addressed to the 807 institutional members of the American Association of Junior Colleges (AAJC) in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. Nearly 80 percent of the colleges replied; 67 percent (543) of the replies were in usable form. In some instances the questionnaire responses were represented in tables according to the geographic regions of the United States that form the territories of the *six regional accrediting associations.* (The respondent colleges were not necessarily accredited by the associations.)

One of the most important sources used in this survey was community college catalogs, which contain a history of the community and sometimes outline in detail the relationship of the college to the community. The history of the college usually includes the reason for its establishment, the growth in enrollment, and the immediate trends. Further, these catalogs contain a statement of educational objectives as well as the philosophy and purpose of the institution.

The catalogs especially represent not only the plans, hopes, and aspirations of college staffs, but are also a distillation of the current thinking of educational leaders. In these statements, a rationale is created for the educational programs the college offers. How the staff translates these general statements into programs, courses, and curriculums can be determined by examining the offerings that are described at length. A comparative study of a college's catalogs for the last three years can be instructive in determining Black Studies curriculum trends

and, from the trends, tentative conclusions about the future can be drawn. In predicting trends, the reader must direct his attention to political, social, and economic influences as well. One of the most far-reaching influences on the curriculum has been the student revolt of the last decade and the emergence of Black Studies as one of its results.

Other institutional publications were also used in the preparation of this report. Such official documents as announcements, brochures, and class schedules further identified the aims, objectives, and philosophy that were translated into Black Studies programs.

In many instances, statements from community college educators provided first-hand accounts of the events surrounding the implementation of Black Studies in their colleges. Black students and black organizations published an abundance of flyers, student demands, and position papers covering the whole range of student opinion.

These official documents, personal statements from educators, and student opinion, together with the questionnaire, periodicals, newspapers, and a search of the literature, make up the sources of this survey.

The major findings of the survey are:

1. Black Studies courses are widespread
2. enrollments are adequate
3. enrollments consist of black students with a sprinkling of non-blacks
4. instructors are predominantly black
5. control of the Black Studies programs is in the hands of the blacks.

Additional findings reveal that Black Studies has influenced other minority or ethnic studies programs and that regular courses are being infused with the Black Experience.

A more complete description of the findings is included as a summary at the end of each section.

This survey gathered data on the extent of Black Studies courses in the community colleges in general and selected information from a limited number of them. A more comprehensive survey using a large sampling of colleges is needed to secure definitive data on the enrollments over a period of two or more semesters and on the ethnic composition of the students and instructors.

A grant from the United States Office of Education to Arthur M. Cohen, Director of the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, enabled this survey of Black Studies in the Junior Colleges to be undertaken.

Without the information supplied by willing administrators who responded to the questionnaire and the time devoted by many presidents and other college officials to correspondence with the investigating staff, this report would not have been possible.

An advisory board collectively and individually provided the project staff with expert advice (Appendix B). Also, assistance with certain aspects of the survey was provided by staff members of the Afro-American Studies Center, UCLA. The Center is presently doing a nationwide survey of other black study centers at the college and university level, with the cooperation of Kansas State University. The UCLA survey will cover the states west of the Mississippi; Kansas will survey those east of the Mississippi.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

A survey of Black Studies in American community junior colleges was conducted as part of a study, funded by the U.S. Office of Education, to furnish targeted audiences in the junior college field with information about the development and implementation of Black Studies in two-year colleges. This Monograph is a summary of that survey.*

Since the development and implementation of Black Studies, learning opportunities in two-year colleges have clearly outdistanced efforts to understand the phenomena that gave rise to them. As this survey was designed only as an effort "to get a handle" on practices within the field, no exhaustive attempt is made in this report to distinguish between promising or unpromising practices of present institutional policy.

The questionnaire (Appendix A) provided base-line data for the survey by allowing community colleges to respond either with a loose definition of Black Studies or with a greater emphasis on black contributions to and accomplishments in society. Black Studies for this survey was defined as "courses of instruction that deal directly with the culture, history, sociology, psychology, language, etc., of the black man." In their replies, respondents were asked to take into consideration traditional African area studies and languages as well as more recent courses in what is described generally as "Black Experience." Where respondents indicated no Black Studies courses at their colleges, they were asked: "Insofar as you know, have any of your college courses of instruction been placing greater emphasis–since the mid-1960s–on the blacks' contribution to and accomplishments in American society?" A yes to this question was

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*The author is indebted to Edgar A. Quimby, who is responsible for analysis and presentation of the material in this chapter.

interpreted as involvement in Black Studies—an interpretation that may be questionable.

The results of the survey suggest that the Black Studies movement has made an impact on American community colleges. By the end of the school year 1969-1970, nearly 45 percent (242) of the colleges participating in the survey claimed to offer at least one course of instruction under the rubric of Black Studies. An additional 31 percent (160) of the respondents—at institutions that did not offer Black Studies courses—reported that since the mid-1960s their traditional course offerings have been placing greater emphasis on the black man's contributions to and achievements in American society. (See Table 1)

California, whose colleges and universities dominate the two-state member institutions of higher learning in the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, has the heaviest concentration of colleges offering Black Studies—all 61 colleges in the Association reporting Black Studies courses were in California. Of the respondent institutions in the state, 75 percent said they were planning to offer Black Studies courses in the near future. Colleges in Hawaii, the other state in the Western Association, did not report offering Black Studies courses.

Though other regions of the country have not become so deeply involved as California in the development of Black Studies courses, the growth has been remarkable. In the Middle States, for example, 64 percent of the respondent colleges offered Black Studies courses in 1969-1970, while nine other institutions expected to establish them in the next year or two. Almost half the

TABLE 1
BLACK STUDIES IN AMERICAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES 1969-1970, BY ACCREDITING REGION (N = 543)

Accrediting Region	New England	Middle States	Southern	North Central	North-Western	Western	Total
Number of respondent colleges	33	81	135	183	30	81	543
Number of colleges offering Black Studies courses	16	52	34	61	18	61	242
Number of colleges (without Black Studies courses) emphasizing the black man's contributions and accomplishments since the mid-1960 s	8	22	45	70	9	14	168
No Black Studies or no response	9	7	56	52	3	6	133

responding colleges in New England offer Black Studies now, while 60 percent of the colleges in the Northwest have Black Studies course offerings under way.

The development of Black Studies courses in the North Central region and in the Southern colleges has not kept pace with the four other regions. A third of the North Central colleges and 25 percent of the Southern colleges reported offering at least one course in Black Studies in 1969-1970. Significantly, though, in both these regions a sizable number of colleges—21 in the Southern and 22 in the North Central states—planned to offer courses in Black Studies within the next few school years. Moreover, North Central and Southern community college curriculums have apparently shown an upsurge of interest in the Black Experience during the past two years. (See Table 2)

To find community colleges so heavily involved in developing Black Studies courses of instruction was not expected, though it was assumed many colleges would indicate that their curriculums were now placing more emphasis on the history and culture of Black America, a response socially desirable and impolitic to challenge. It is not surprising that the adoption of discrete courses of instruction under Black Studies has been the chief means by which community colleges have approached this ethno-curricular innovation, since the graded course is, generally, the principal type of learning opportunity dealt with in junior college curriculum planning.

Widespread adoption of Black Studies courses in community colleges started less than three years ago. Before 1965 only ten of the respondent colleges (five in California, two in Illinois, and one each in Alabama, Michigan, and

TABLE 2
THE FIRST YEAR THAT BLACK STUDIES COURSES WERE OFFERED IN TWO-YEAR COLLEGES (N = 239)

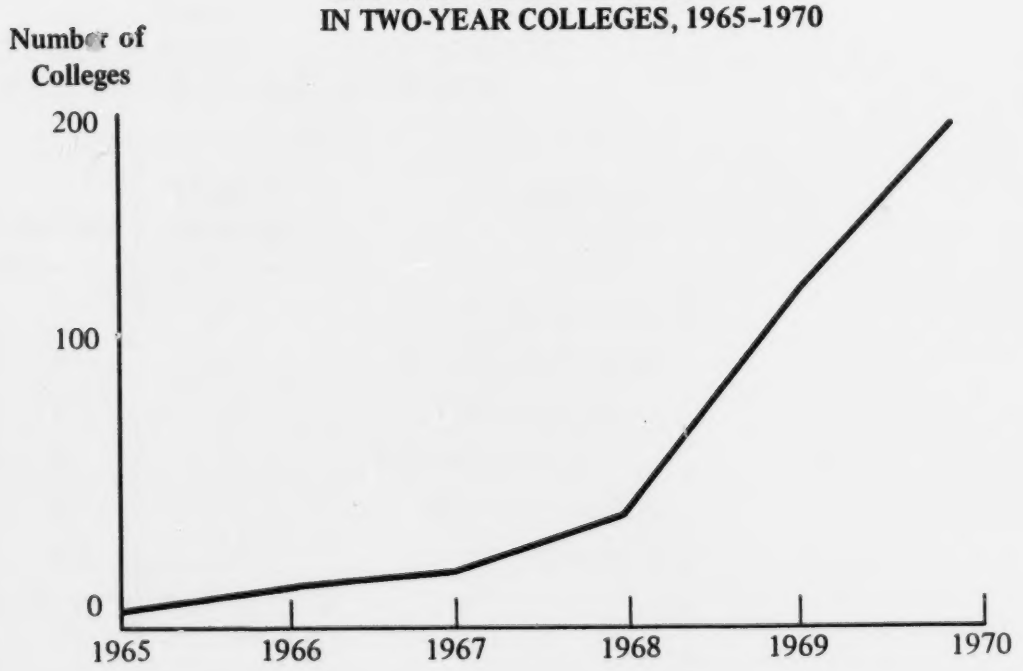
Accrediting Region	1966-67 and before	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
New England (N = 16)			6	10
Middle States (N = 54)	3	4	27	20
Southern (N = 31)	2	4	9	16
North Central (N = 60)	7	5	27	21
Northwest (N = 18)	2	2	6	8
Western (N = 60)	9	9	25	17
Total	23	24	100	92

Washington) claimed to offer courses that dealt with Black–read "Negro"–or African history and culture. Even by spring 1967, only 23 of the respondent colleges were offering Black Studies. The pace quickened somewhat during 1967-68, for by the spring of that academic year, 47 of the respondent institutions had adopted Black Studies courses. In 1968-69, the school year immediately following Martin Luther King's assassination, 100 of the respondent colleges inaugurated their first course in Black Studies. By spring 1970, another 95 of the respondent colleges had adopted their first courses of instruction in Black Studies. (See Table 3)

At the very least, the data point to formative efforts by community colleges to keep abreast of contemporary social reality. Possibly the study of Black America in one form or another is becoming commonplace in American community colleges because they enroll most of the black students pursuing post-secondary education. Moreover, community colleges have dealt more directly with the aims of the Black Studies movement than has any other level of American schooling.

The Black Studies movement of the 1960s was addressed first of all to the needs of black students. It was therefore decided to distinguish between the

TABLE 3
THE GROWTH OF BLACK STUDIES IN TWO-YEAR COLLEGES, 1965-1970



development of Black Studies learning opportunities on predominantly non-black campuses and their development at colleges with significant black enrollments. But what constitutes a *significant* black enrollment on a community college campus?

Respondents were asked to estimate the percentage of black students enrolled at their colleges. As a balloon effect was anticipated in these estimates, respondents were also asked to indicate whether they had completed an ethnic survey in 1969-1970. Given the contemporary interest in ethnic relations as well as the provisions of recent civil rights legislation, it was expected that current ethnic surveys would be available from most colleges as a check on the balloon effect. This assumption turned out to be erroneous; only a handful of respondents reported that they had undertaken ethnic surveys during the past academic year. (Indeed, one respondent from a Southern community college requested information about the meaning and use of ethnic surveys!) Consequently, reports of black student enrollments are but reasonable guesses.

Of the 543 responding institutions, 83 percent were predominantly non-black campuses; that is, their estimated black enrollments were ten percent or less of the whole student body. Ninety-one colleges, however, did indicate that their black enrollments exceeded ten percent. These colleges were designated as having "significant" black enrollments. Still, colleges with "significant" black enrollments have not been adopting Black Studies courses any more readily than colleges where less than ten percent of the students are black. This has been the case in both small and large colleges.

Distinguishing predominantly non-black campuses from colleges with significant black enrollments did not yield any especially useful information about the development of Black Studies courses, except that they are now being offered in most of the *large community colleges* (5,000 or more students in California institutions, 3,000 or more students elsewhere) throughout the nation, irrespective of the percentage of black students enrolled. (See Table 4)

About 20 percent of all two-year colleges in the country have large enrollments and, in at least this one respect, they are key institutions since they enroll collectively more than half of all community college students in the United States. Three-fourths (138) of these large colleges returned responses. By definition, 115 of them were "non-black campuses" in 1969-1970. The other 23 had what was termed a "significant" black enrollment. Black Studies courses were offered on 98 (85 percent) of the large non-black campuses in 1969-1970; all but two colleges—both Southern based—offered at least one course in Black Studies during 1969-1970. (Ten of the large non-black colleges, moreover, reported that they would develop Black Studies courses in the near future, though neither of the two colleges in the South with significant black enrollments planned to develop such learning opportunities.)

To provide the field with some genuinely useful information about the relationship between black students and Black Studies, precise enrollment figures on black students were needed, and the definition of a "non-black" college used in this survey had to be modified to indicate that a black student enrollment of eight percent at a college with 10,000 students is probably more significant than a black student enrollment of 50 percent at one with fewer than a thousand students.

TABLE 4
BLACK STUDENT ENROLLMENT EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN 543 TWO-YEAR COLLEGES, 1969-1970

Accrediting Region	0-10%	11-20%	21-30%	31%+
New England (N = 33)	32	1		
Middle States (N = 81)	65	9	3	4
Southern (N = 135)	87	30	11	7
North Central (N = 183)	169	10	1	3
Northwestern (N = 30)	30			
Western (N = 81)	69	5	2	5
Total	452	55	17	19

Too few respondents indicated that their colleges had undertaken recent ethnic surveys. The latest data collected by the U.S. Office for Civil Rights on ethnic composition of college student bodies are three years old and not altogether reliable. One survey gave virtually no national longitudinal data (see chapter III, section on enrollment for the New York State Survey) on black enrollments that covered the three years in which Black Studies courses emerged in so many community colleges. As a result, any attempt to draw inferences from the relationship between size of the black student constituency on a campus and development of Black Studies courses must be viewed with caution. A sampling of enrollment data from colleges is included in a later section.

One tentative conclusion, however, emerged from attempts to secure reliable data on black enrollment in community colleges–some, possibly many, of these colleges have been enrolling an increasing *percentage* of black students over the past three years. The changing racial composition of two-year colleges may best be attributed to factors unrelated to the development of Black Studies (e.g., minority student recruitment campaigns, unemployment), but the implementation of Black Studies courses between 1967 and 1970 might have been stimulated at some colleges by an upsurge in black enrollment as perceived by college officials. Certainly, the aims of the Black Studies movement have had considerable impact on community colleges.

In addition to data collected from the questionnaire, the remainder of this report relied on information acquired through correspondence with community college educators, student position papers and demands, college announcements, flyers, catalogs, books, and periodicals, as discussed in the Foreword.

ORIGINS OF BLACK STUDIES

CHAPTER II

The origins of Black Studies will be described as they pertain to the community college—the students, faculty, administrators, community leaders. This does not imply that the community college operated independently of all other institutions or that it was not influenced by other segments of education. There is considerable evidence to the contrary—the movement for Black Studies in community colleges was influenced by the segregated churches, schools, and voluntary associations of the South; by the Black Power movement; and by the curriculum developments in the public schools and universities. However, as far as possible, evidence from community college sources, official documents, student publications, faculty statements, and reactions and attitudes to student demands will be used to clarify the origins of the community college Black Studies programs.

CURRICULUM REFORM

The introduction of Black Studies courses and the changes made in many of the traditional courses during the late 1960s constitute the most extensive modification of the community college curriculum since the addition of vocational-technical courses in the 1930s and 1940s. Although Laura Bornholdt, vice president of the Danforth Foundation, had university experiences in mind, her statement that "there is no parallel in the history of American higher education for the dramatic emergence of Black Studies" applies to the community colleges as well [F6]. Black Studies has been followed by courses and curriculums in Mexican-American, Latin-American, American Indian, Euro-American, and Asian-American Studies. In some colleges, Ethnic Studies programs embodying all of these have been instituted. Of the minority programs, however, Black Studies continues to be the most prominent and most widely adopted curriculum reform.

Concurrent with the addition of ethnic courses, the content of liberal arts courses, especially in English, history, humanities, political science, psychology, and sociology, was broadened to include the place, contribution, and role of minorities in United States and world history. This reform movement—involving additions to and revision of the curriculum by black activists, who were in the forefront of the Black Studies movement—accomplished what many educators were unable to do by exhortation [G3].

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SEGREGATED SOUTH

Black Studies has been traced as far back as the late eighteenth century, when black intellectuals became "preoccupied with what they named 'racial vindication'" [F12].

The segregated institutions in the South—churches, schools, voluntary associations—"fostered a sense of security about identity and a high degree of solidarity" [F12], contributions that cannot be overemphasized. Before the 1954 Brown Supreme Court decision, the segregated black schools and colleges were generally left to develop their own educational programs. As long as no disturbances occurred or no inflammatory speeches were made, the white educational authorities did not supervise these institutions very closely. Though their resources were never equal to those of the white schools, the black educators did provide black students with examples of professional success from which emerged the concept of the dignity and worth of black people. In the libraries, students could read periodicals and books by blacks and about blacks. Essay contests on such topics as "The Negro and the Constitution" and "Frederick Douglass and the Constitution" also helped create pride in the role of blacks and black heroes [F12].

In these schools (as in the churches), blacks were in control. Here black identity was a reality. Teachers and principals were black. That some had to curry favor with whites does not detract from the many among them who told with fervor of the struggles and achievements of black heroes to free themselves and their people from the degradation in which they had been placed. The black principal "provided a valuable image for black kids." More, "he shouldered the mantle of leadership in the black community . . . he was the only one with whom the power structure would deal . . . . Perhaps the greatest impact was upon the kids who observed and aped him . . . and dreamed of standing in his shoes . . ." [F23]. From these schools emerged some of the leaders of the Civil Rights and black nationalist movements. (For a more extended treatment of this subject, see St. Clair Drake, "Reflections on Black Studies" [F12].)*

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

As a result of the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and interested educators since the 1950s, the movement spread to other parts of the country. Negro history and literature courses were introduced into the high schools and elementary schools. Some school districts chose "the more difficult . . . route of systematically integrating information

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*In addition, the project investigators are indebted to Sanford Bishop, President, Mobile State Junior College, Mobile, Alabama, consultant on the project.

about minority groups into the total secondary curriculum." Negro History Week in the North produced a variety of programs that directed attention to the role of the Negro in American life [B1].

Because of close association with the public schools during this period, the community colleges also reflected this interest in the Negro. They introduced Negro history and literature courses and African history courses, including material on the emergence of the independent African nations. In most instances these courses were taught by whites. Black instructors were scarce in the Northern community colleges before the 1960s.

This effort to arouse interest in the Negro had two major objectives: (1) revision of textbooks to replace the erroneous stereotypes about Negroes with "a more accurate and sympathetic account of Black participation in human history"; and (2) "enrichment of the curriculum at all levels to include material that would foster harmonious interracial and interethnic relations" [F12:4-5].

But, as Drake observes and as the militant blacks charge, this activity did not constitute Black Studies, but rather "courses and programs oriented primarily toward teaching white Americans about black people" [F12:7] through white teachers. Some even attacked these courses as "token instruments for the legitimation of white institutions of higher education" [F42:3]. In the early agitation for Black Studies during the late 1960s, the militant blacks directed many of their attacks against these courses and programs.

THE BLACK STUDIES MOVEMENT: THE 1960s

The Black Studies movement began in the early 1960s and has continued to the present. In the community colleges, as in the universities where the movement began, the leaders were black students, usually members of a militant organization, the Black Students Union or Association of Black Students, and black educators, sometimes associated with the students. Through the student organizations, the leaders made demands on the college president for Black Studies courses and curricu' ms. Some black educators also made demands, but usually they did so indirectly through the student organizations. Black educators and other leaders probably helped in the preparation of the students' position papers [G6].

To their demands for Black Studies the militants usually attached a bill of grievances against the colleges and society. The grievances were general, of an ideological nature, or specific. They included charges of racism, inadequate education, degradation, and discrimination. They attacked the colleges and the schools for their white, middle-class, anti-black bias. Students echoed the charge of Black Power leaders that schools and colleges perpetuated injustices because they made the black man invisible and denied his contribution to American and world history. They repeated the indictment of Charles Thomas, National Chairman, Association of Black Psychologists, who said, "Education has crippled more of us than all of the diseases of mankind." Charges of institutional racism appeared in most of the position papers of the black student organizations. The Cuyahoga Community College Association of Black Students accused the schools of not relating to the interest of black students, asserting in the preamble of its position paper that:

By teaching all history, sociology, economics, culture, etc., as if history began in the Western world, the schools have promoted white supremacy, fostered inferiority complexes and self-hatred in Black children, and stripped the Black man of all identity other than that of a history of slavery and degradation [F11].

At Los Angeles Southwest College, the complaint was directed at the traditional curriculum, which was allegedly authoritarian, insensitive to the community, and unable to give the black a knowledge of himself and his position in American society and the world. Because of this, the Seattle students claimed that the black people had "little chance to relate to anything else." In the students' view, this kind of education has been instrumental in making the black man's plight "... one of a calculated silent existence" never offering "a significant solution to the dilemma the white has us in." Specifically, they resented being shunted to the inferior trade and industrial courses or being placed in the remedial programs [A2X].

In addition to the indictments against white-dominated education, the black students and educators made specific demands for changes in the content of the curriculum. From these demands emerged the Black Studies courses and curriculums described in chapter III. Black students also demanded admission to regular transfer, technical, and semi-professional courses in order to overcome the handicaps of an education that trains them only to make a living, not how to live.

PURPOSE OF THE BLACK CURRICULUM

According to Walton, an early faculty leader of the movement,

A purpose of the Black Curriculum is to develop psychologically healthy human beings ... (by redefining the Black man in his own terms in a psychologically healthy framework so that the other human beings ... white, yellow, or red ... are able to relate to a healthy, self-defined being [E8:140-41, 160].

Education must teach their "true history and role in the present-day society" and "give people a knowledge of self because if a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else" [A2h]. "Mental awareness and growth of the Afro-American in the perpetuation of his culture and the acquisition of ... skills [are] necessary for the health and welfare of the Black Experience" [A2x]. Education must also "develop an awareness of [the] Black contribution to American history and culture" [A2n], as well as an awareness of "the life and struggles of the Black Community" [F15:8].

By creating a black curriculum, the militants maintain they are performing a function for all Americans by exposing "the racist foundation upon which America stands" and by placing "the Black man in his proper perspective so that an understanding of the Black race can lead to better race relations between blacks and whites" [F11]. "The Black Curriculum, then, embodies how black people function and shows that a person is a *part of* the curriculum and not a spectator as is the case with the white curriculum. The Black Man's relationships within the institution are as much educational as the curriculum itself" [F42:Pt. V]. It is just one example of creativeness of the black mind [F42:3]. Through it the person is taught "that he is not a freak but rather part of a larger international community of black-skinned, kinky-haired people who have a

beauty of their own, a glorious history and a great future . . . . The growing popularity of this viewpoint is evidenced by . . . the surge of interest in African and Negro culture and history" [F7:14].

Since Malcolm X taught blacks that "education is their passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today," it is imperative for them "to determine the type of their education and the destiny of their people" [A2h]. Blacks have to reshape "the entire education process, making it relevant to the community in which it is centered and to whom it owes its existence" in order "to survive in the present day society" [A2h]. They must remove "the shackles of economic exploitation and political oppression" and "play an effective role in bringing about revolutionary change in . . . society" [A2k].

REACTION AGAINST BLACK STUDIES

Not all educators agree that Black Studies is a desirable educational discipline. Opposition or resistance comes from black educators and community leaders as well as from white educators [F10:29-33]. Among the severest critics of the extremist position are some prominent black educators. Professor Lewis of Princeton yields "to none in thinking that every respectable university should give courses in African life and on Afro-American life," but he fears "that a separate Black program not academically equivalent to the college curriculum generally . . . reinforces the Negro's inability to compete with the whites for the real power of the real world" [F25].

Bayard Rustin severely criticizes administrators for "capitulating to the stupid demands of Negro students" and advises them to offer students "the remedial training that they need" because they were "ill-prepared for college education." Rustin asks, "What the hell are soul courses worth in the real world" where "no one gives a damn if you've taken soul courses" but where everyone wants "to know if you can do mathematics and write a correct sentence!" Some white professors also came in for criticism for desiring "a 'revolution by proxy' using black students as fronts" [F37:I,1].

A. Philip Randolph, black AFL-CIO vice president, while conceding it is "unfortunate that education . . . leaders have not grasped the magnitude and the seriousness of the unrest and discontent on campuses," nevertheless warns that:

> . . . the use of violence . . . to compel universities to take favorable action in the establishment of Negro studies will create a reaction that will result in the postponement of the studies young Negroes are deeply concerned about [F36:1-A, 2].

Some white educators, while conciliatory in their responses, do not accept the premises of the black student extremists. The senate of El Camino College (California), in its response to black student demands, concluded "that the Black Studies program must be placed in the perspective of the overall program of the college." While acknowledging its value to blacks and whites, the senate warned against training a large number of students "in such a relatively narrow field" [A2c]. Senate members preferred "to aid in turning out not only black artists, writers and musicians but also Black (and White) chemists, accountants, linguists, historians, welders, mathematicians, [to] serve the cause of education with dignity, balance, and professional excellence."

Although welcoming the positive benefit of an occasion requiring a re-examination of his basic assumptions, the president of Macomb County Community College (Michigan) declared:

> It is crucial that we exercise our judgment in a dispassionate fashion, reaching our conclusions on the basis of what will serve the best interests of our institution. Unless compelling reason dictates, we are not justified in tampering with time-tested principles of academic procedures simply because an articulate, dedicated, and well-meaning group calls for change for the sake of change, rather than on merit [A2q].

Some educators argue that, if they introduce Black Studies courses, they will also haye to include German, Irish, Italian, and Jewish Studies courses. The advocates of Black Studies state that this argument is weak, since ethnically oriented courses in Armenian, Arabic, Italian, Hebrew, and other studies are already in the colleges. Moreover, these courses, which originated from requests by students and community leaders of the respective ethnic groups, are taught by ethnic instructors and are attended largely by students belonging to the same ethnic persuasion as the courses.

Fluctuation in enrollment is in direct relation to fluctuations in the ethnic composition of the student body. When Jewish students cease attending a particular college, Hebrew and Jewish culture classes wane in enrollment. The same is true for the other ethnic courses. On the other hand, when more students enroll, other ethnic courses are added. (No community college matches Roosevelt University's Jewish Studies program, whose objectives are similar to those for Black Studies. It is designed to meet the needs of "students who have careers or career plans specifically related to education and social service in the Jewish community; and students who would like to secure a knowledge and appreciation of Jewish culture" [F17:70].)

Today, opposition to Black Studies still appears, but the emotional overtones are not as notable as formerly. It is unlikely that Black Studies courses will disappear from the curriculum, for the Black Experience is an integral part of the culture of American life. Educators will not be able to avoid incorporating it in the curriculum. However, analogies with European groups should not be used; they are not comparable and are likely to be deceiving. The curriculum is oriented to Western and specifically European culture, not to African. The Black Experience is extraneous to the historical perspective of European and American history.

SUMMARY

The Black studies movement of the 1960s had its origins in the South, spread into the North during the 1950s (first as a sort of renaissance of interest in Negro history and literature), and then reappeared during the Black Power movement, in which the emphasis was on the redefinition of the Black Experience by blacks for blacks. This redefinition forms the positive aspects of the Black Studies movement. It was a reaction to the disappointing results of the Civil Rights movement, which failed to bring about the blacks' admission into the mainstream of American life. The emergence of the independent nations of Africa also influenced the movement.

Black Studies has provided an instrument for the reform and redesign of education, thereby affording the Black community an opportunity to develop its

societal role. Because the integrated colleges are largely controlled and operated by white administrators and instructors, it is important that they understand the emergence of the Black Studies movement. Otherwise, they may overlook many conditions that are a source of annoyance to their black students; may miss the real motivation for the insistence on such courses by black students; may lose the opportunity for an orderly introduction of courses or for broadening the regular courses to incorporate topics and materials on the Black Experience (and on other minority experiences).

Black Studies courses are needed by both blacks and whites to improve "understanding of important aspects of the nation's history and of the origins and experience of America's largest ethnic minority" [F40]. A recent study on high school disorders by the Syracuse University Research Corporation recommends a strategy of prevention rather than reaction, and suggests "the adoption of special measures to respectfully honor cultural differences among students, the recruitment of minority-group staff members, and the more direct involvement of schools in the communities they serve" [F30:80]. Although these recommendations are confined to high schools, community college educators should not ignore them. They are the essence of Black Studies.

THE COURSES AND CURRICULUMS

CHAPTER III

CURRICULUM EVOLUTION

Black Studies courses and curriculums have evolved from a variety of situations. In the beginning, the impetus or driving force for the introduction of Black Studies came from the militant black student organizations. Nearly every position paper presented to the president of a community college by a black student group contained a demand for Black Studies–either a simple one-sentence statement for Black Studies as at Compton College, California, or an elaborate and detailed outline for more than 25 courses as at Seattle Community College and at El Camino College, California.

Concurrently, many community colleges began developing Black Studies courses either from conviction of their importance or from a wish to head off serious confrontations. In some colleges, the Black Studies courses–Black Literature and the Afro-American in the Political and Social History of the United States–were nothing more than the old Negro Literature and the History of the Negro in the United States courses, with new titles and black instructors. As administrators saw the need, or in response to student requests, they added other courses.

Whether or not the courses were added as a result of student demands or administrative insight or expediency, in the early years (1967 and 1968) little thought or study went into their organization. In the community colleges as in the universities, Black Studies "as a field . . . was accepted before it was defined, and the hammering out of a definition . . . went on simultaneously with the evolution of courses and degree programs" [F6].

PRESENT PRACTICES

Today, without the pressures prevalent during 1967 and 1968, administrators and faculty are urging that proposals for Black Studies courses be given the same consideration as those for other courses. Community college educators,

including those receptive and sympathetic to the need for such courses, agree with a pioneer in the field that:

> . . . a curriculum cannot be developed . . . simply by adapting course titles, course outlines, formats or methodology by one college to the curriculum needs of another. It is essential that each [administrator] . . . work with [his] own resources, students, faculty, administration, and the community to meet the specific needs of [the] college [F28].

This warning is pertinent. A practice common to this curriculum area, as in others, is the introduction of courses developed by other colleges, with definitions hammered out afterwards. This statement is not intended to decry the process of studying the experiences of other colleges. (That is what education is about.) Rather, it is meant to call attention to the practice of indiscriminate imitation without considering individual campus situations.

To help educators planning to enter this curriculum area or to expand course offerings, many surveys, conferences, discussion groups, workshops, in-service training sessions for instructors, summer conferences for teams of administrators and instructors were, and are still, conducted by colleges, universities, state agencies, and professional associations. These meetings may last one day or a whole summer session. They may be held on a community college campus, a university campus, or at a conference center. Examples of such organized efforts and their results follow:

1. Discussions between the administration and the Black Students Council at New York City Community College preceded the introduction of an Afro-American and Latin-American Program in 1969. The Faculty Council took concurrent action.*
2. A Black Curriculum Workshop to infuse Black Studies into the college program was held at Laney College, California, on December 1, 1967 [E4].
3. A committee on Afro-American Studies, administrators, faculty, and student members of the Association of Black Collegians met at Forest Park Community College during the spring and fall of 1969 to develop an Afro-American Curriculum.**
4. An Afro-American, Mexican-American Curriculum Workshop for junior college instructors and administrators was held at San Diego State College, June 17-27, 1969. The director, Doris A. Meek, prepared *Ethnic Studies,* a manual of resource materials for participants [F28].
5. A subsequent Mexican-American, Afro-American Curriculum Workshop was a follow-up of the 1969 Workshop. Tapes of some of the lectures and addresses are available from the Audio-Visual Library, San Diego State College.***
6. "Focus: Black America," a conference consisting "of a series of special events in Indiana University . . . spotlighted the contributions and problems of Afro-Americans in American society." One result of these activities was a bibliographic series on ten topics of the Black Experience [C5].

* Letter: "To the Faculty and Students" from Milton G. Bassin, President, New York City Community College, May 9, 1969.

** Letter: William Edward Snead, President, Forest Park Community College, to John Lombardi, September 21, 1970.

***Letter: From Doris Meek, Merritt College, California, to John Lombardi, October 16, 1970.

COURSE CATEGORIES AND TITLES

Black Studies has been classified into various course categories. At Berkeley, courses are classified as contemporary, socio-economic, cultural, community-related history, and language and literature [F3]. Hamilton has six classifications: (1) The Gaps Function, (2) The Functional Theory, (3) The Humanizing Function, (4) The Reconciliation Theory, (5) The Psychological Function, and (6) The Ideological Function [F17]. All stress the reasons or purposes of Black Studies programs rather than the courses themselves. As a result of examining the community college catalogs, the classifications of courses used in this survey have been subdivided into six categories: history, literature, culture, socio-economic, integrated, and minority- and urban-oriented. The first four are directly classified as Black Studies. The fifth is composed of standard courses modified to make them more representative of the Black Experience, while minority- and urban-oriented courses are tangentially related to Black Studies. The last two categories have appeared in response to the same influences that brought about the emergence of Black Studies. As will be apparent in the description of the two categories, they resemble the other classifications.

The titles of the courses listed under the various categories are taken from community college catalogs and announcements representing states in all sections of the country. Usually, the category in which a title is placed corresponds to the one used in the catalog from which it was selected. In some cases, the same title may appear in different categories in different catalogs. For example, the History of the Theater may appear under History in one catalog and under Music in another.

The number of courses listed in any category has no relationship to the number of colleges offering them or to the enrollment. Titles were selected to illustrate the wide range of courses, the variety in the titles, and the usage of the words BLACK, AFRO-AMERICAN and NEGRO. Often a particular title appeared in only one catalog.

History. By far the most common, and the one with the largest enrollment, is the history group. In nearly every college with one or more Black Studies programs, history is included. Although listed under various titles, the courses essentially revolve around some aspect of the Black or Afro-American in American and African history. They are one-semester courses of the survey or the period variety, or are limited to the contemporary urban setting. Others are two-semester (or three-quarter) courses covering American history from the continent's discovery or the span of civilization from the beginning of recorded history.

The courses are divided into two groups: Afro-American History and History of Africa. Each division also includes political science or government courses and an occasional geography course.

1. **Afro-American History**
   - Afro-American History
   - Survey of Afro-American History
   - The Afro-American in American History
   - The Afro-American in the Political and Social History of the United States
   - The Afro-American in Contemporary Urban Society
   - Black History

The Black Man in America
The South in American History
Black People in Michigan History
The Negro in American History
The Negro in American Culture
American Politics and Black Self-Determination
Black Politics
Political Problems of Black America

2. **History of Africa**
History of Africa
African History
History of African Civilization
African Civilization
Africa: A Study in the Problems of Emerging Nations
Government and Politics of Africa
Survey of African Government and Politics
Geography of Africa
Contemporary World Politics (with special reference to Africa and Asia)

Literature. A variety of titles appears in Afro-American literature, but fewer catalogs list them than list history courses. Enrollment in the literature courses is also lower. English courses other than composition are usually not required in the general education pattern or for graduation, as are courses in American history. Additional literature courses are usually restricted to second-, third-, and fourth-semester students who have completed the composition course.

Afro-American Literature
Contemporary Afro-American Literature
Survey of Afro-American Literature
Introduction to Black Literature in America
Literature of Black America
Perspectives on Black Literature
Psychology in Black Literature
Black Culture—Its Expression [in literature]
Image of Blacks in American Literature
The Negro in American Literature
Mainstream of American Negro Literature
Black Fiction
Black Folklore
Slave Narratives
Contemporary Afro-American Novelists
The Afro-American Poet
Modern Black Writers
Black Rhetoric
Literature of Black Africa

Culture. Afro-American and African culture other than literature are in the third category. They may be found under Afro-American Studies, Anthropology, Art, Sociology, and Humanities. The number of courses in this group is

large, although the enrollment is much smaller than in either the history or literature courses.

1. **General Culture**
   Afro-American Culture
   Philosophical Implications of Black Cultural Thought
   Studies in the Black Community
   The Black Man in American Society
   Black Humanities
   Remnants of African Culture
   People and Cultures of Africa
   Culture of the African Continent
   Culture of the Sub-Saharan Africa
   The African Image
   Culture and Language of the Ibo
   Arts and Ideas of African Culture
   Swahili
2. **Art**
   Basic Black Art
   Art of Africa, Afro-Americans, and Related Cultures
   African and Afro-American Art
   Afro-American Art
   African Tribal Art
3. **Music and Dance**
   Afro-American Dance
   Introduction to Jazz History and Literature
   Jazz and American Culture
   Development of Jazz: Afro-European Origins to the Present
   Survey of Jazz
   History of Jazz on Records
   Music Culture of Africa and the Western World
   Musical Traditions of the Afro-Americans
   Survey of Afro-American Folksong
4. **Theater**
   Afro-American Theater: Theory of Acting and Production
   Ethnic Theater
   Theater of Black Life in America
5. **Philosophy, Psychology, Religion**
   Philosophy of the Black Ghetto
   Philosophy and Racial Conflict
   Introduction to Philosophy
   Psychological Study of Afro-Americans
   Black Psychology
   Contemporary Afro-American Thought
   Religion in the Black Community
   Religions of Mankind

Socio-Economic. The socio-economic courses relate to the conditions of the black people in the United States. Sometimes they cover the oppression and

exploitation of blacks. Only an occasional course on Africa appears in this category. Some are being incorporated in new two-year technical-vocational programs such as those for education aide, community planner, urban government clerk, environmental technologist, and child care aide.

Black Economics
Economics of the Black Community
The Influence of the Economic Sector on the Afro-American
Black Education
Education for the Culturally Deprived Child
Communicating the Black Experience [through the news media]
Black Journalism
Racism and American Institutions
Institutional Racism
The Black Man in American Society
Sociology of Black America
Sociology of Black Americans
Sociology of the Afro-American
Sociology of the Black Family
Urban Renewal and the Black Community
Seminar in Black Excellence and Survival
Social Changes in Contemporary Africa
Miseducation and Desocialization of the Black Child

Integrated. Instead of developing separate Black Studies courses, some colleges are revising their standard courses to include material about Afro-Americans, Africa, and Africans. At Sauk Valley College (Illinois), "in most disciplines Black Studies are wove[n] throughout the fabric of the courses, and are applied intensively where pertin[ent]. Also, in some areas such as Child Care Aide, Teacher Aide, and Law Enforc[ement], Black Studies are more tangential than in other areas, but in these, atten[tion] is focused on discrimination and minority group problems" [A2s].

Many colleges that have separate Black Studies courses are at the same time broadening the standard courses. At Forest Park Community College "this is a long-range goal which proceeds side by side with the establishment of new courses."* This is also happening in colleges like Malcolm X in Chicago, where the objective is to become "a Black institution—one in which the educational services will be designed to uniquely serve the goals of Black people . . . with educational programs to promote the Black agenda" [F27;F14]. In its Afro-American Studies Program, Forest Park also offers standard courses like English Composition (Black Emphasis), Introduction to Sociology (Emphasis on Racial and Cultural Minorities), and Introduction to Psychology (Emphasis on the Afro-American Experience).

Similar practices are followed in the Los Rios District Colleges, Sacramento, and at San Jose City College, California. In the former, two sets of United States history courses are offered, one labeled "Afro-American Emphasis." In the latter

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* Letter: William Edward Snead, President, Forest Park Community College, and Vice President, The Junior College District, St. Louis County, Missouri, September 21, 1970.

college, the Black Studies Department issues a flyer to students with information on courses in which the "emphasis is on the black perspective," focusing "on the black point of view." Some of the courses are standard, others are the more recent Black Studies courses.

Minority- and Urban-Oriented. Although they are not Black Studies courses in the strict sense of the definition, minority- and urban-oriented courses do for other minorities what Black Studies courses do for blacks. For example, a course called Minority Literature offered at the North Campus of the Community College of Denver includes the works of Chicanos, Jews, and other groups, as well as Blacks. Since so large a proportion of minorities lives in urban areas, other courses deal with topics connected with urban life, e.g., the composition and characteristics of ethnic groups, and the relationships of minorities among themselves, with the dominant group, and with the governmental processes. At Malcolm X College, a learning unit has been established under the heading of urban survival. In the law enforcement curriculums, courses on police-community relations appear frequently. In many instances, the courses in this category are similar in content and purpose to those being developed at Sauk Valley College (Illinois). Many of these courses are found in the sociology departments:

Administration of Criminal Justice and Minority Groups
Minority Groups
The Sociology of Urban Development
Urban Sociology
Urban Survival
American Problems and Issues
Urban Social Problems
Racial and Ethnic Group Relations
Profiles of Ethnology
Police-Community Relations
Minority Literature

Associate in Arts programs with a major in Ethnic Studies are a more recent development. They may or may not include Black Studies courses. At City College of San Francisco, a major in Ethnic Studies consists of 20 units in any one of three curriculums: Afro-American Studies, Chinese Studies, or Latin-American Studies. Any combination of courses in two or more of the three fields is also acceptable.

ENROLLMENT IN BLACK STUDIES COURSES

Criteria for evaluating the success of courses according to student enrollment are not available, but administrators and faculty express satisfaction if the courses offered enroll as high a percentage of students as do other liberal arts courses.

On balance it seems that a reasonably large number of students enroll in Black Studies courses, though fewer than the activists expected. In fact, the enrollment at one college was so disappointing that the militants asked that enrollment be compulsory for black students. The editor of *Black Awareness* of Los Angeles Southwest College BSU (Black Students Union) felt that

> . . . the students are not as interested in the studies as they should be. In my mind, they don't seem to understand the reason for studying themselves–about their own heritage.

Actually they shouldn't need a reason! Yeah, they are saying, 'I'm Black and I'm Proud,' but it ends there—no willingness to learn it. Perhaps awareness is still yet to come! [A2a].

A similar concern was expressed by the editor of the Chicago Southeast College newspaper *Enditer* [F15], who urged students to enroll in Black Studies courses. On the other hand, Merritt College administrators report that they "have no difficulty in enrolling students in Black Studies courses"* [E7].

A board member at Macomb County Community College in Michigan asked, "[is] the student body . . . responding with the vigor we had hoped and anticipated?" The president replied that enrollment in the Black History course had improved and that it would show improvement each year [A2r].

The Director of Black Studies at Wayne County Community College reported that the "courses held very well in the black areas of the county" and that "they did as well as can be expected . . . in the white areas—which means that they didn't do very well." To improve the acceptability of the courses in the white areas, the director planned to "utilize white instructors" whenever available.**

The enrollment at the various campuses of the St. Louis and Denver districts confirms this observation from Wayne County. Black Studies enrollment is roughly proportional to the number of blacks in the student population. (See Tables 5, 6, and 7) At Golden West College in California, however, with only a handful of black students, a course, "The Black Man in American Society," taught by a black, has had an enrollment of 45 to 60 students in the four successive semesters it has been offered.*** Also, at the College of DuPage in Illinois, with only 160 black students out of 8,000, a Black History course taught by a white attracts 25 to 30 students each quarter.****

Since the community college comprises only the freshman and sophomore years, enrollment in Black Studies courses is likely to remain small. In two years, liberal arts students are not able or do not desire to take more than a few Black Studies courses in any discipline. Students majoring in the technical-vocational areas are more restricted (or more reluctant) than the transfer students to take more than one or two Black Studies courses. Transfer students who major in Black Studies take the most subjects in this discipline. Usually a major consists of a pattern totaling at least 20 semester units of approximately seven or eight courses of three units each. When a student takes an inter-disciplinary major combining Black Studies with a traditional field of study, the number of Black Studies courses in his program is likely to be smaller. These considerations, as well as those relating to the usefulness of the courses for degree, major, or transfer purposes, and the relative difficulty of the courses, availability in the schedule, and instructor appeal, all lead to the conclusion that black students are as pragmatic as other students when choosing courses [F38].

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*Letter: Eugene Osegueda, Assistant Dean of Student Personnel, to John Lombardi, October 7, 1969.

**Letter: V. Lonnie Peek, Jr., to Miss Joyce Durden, October 1, 1970.

***Letter: William F. Shawl, Dean of Academic Affairs, to John Lombardi, October 7, 1970.

****Letter: John H. Anthony, Vice President—Administration, to John Lombardi, October 7, 1970.

As a practical matter, black militants and black educators accept the fact that black students have to make their way in an America that still places high value on traditional education. A separatist nation or cultural pattern for blacks is at best a dream, at worst a delusion. Without admitting any retreat from the separatist position, student militants and educators advocate and initiate inter-disciplinary programs for the Associate in Arts degree. At Merritt College, four major inter-disciplinary patterns of Afro-American Studies enable a student to select a general program with no specific concentration or one with a concentration on (1) Behavioral and/or Social Sciences, (2) Creative Arts, or (3) Humanities and/or Language Arts. In July 1969, the Seattle BSU proposed several inter-disciplinary programs similar to those at Merritt.*

Listing courses in two or more departments is another example of this pragmatism. Since subject and unit requirements in a particular discipline determine acceptability for majors, graduation, credentials, and transfer, a course such as "History of Africa" will be listed as History 27 or as Afro-American Studies 6. This double entry system constitutes neither a new development in scheduling of classes nor a concession to Black Studies. It is a practice of long standing [G3:9].

Correspondence with about 50 college administrators elicited more detailed enrollment information than did the questionnaire. At the time of completing this report, 28 of them had responded. Since they do not represent all colleges, only tentative conclusions can be drawn from the small sampling. Wherever available, the total day enrollment and the estimated number of black students enrolled are included. In most instances, a statement on the ethnic origins of the Black Studies instructors is also included, since the assignment of instructors on the basis of ethnic origin is a major issue among many educators and students. This will be developed more fully later.

The data are examples of Black Studies enrollment experiences among colleges with large, medium, and small student bodies, with varying percentages of black students, and belonging to the same district system. Of interest also is the comparative enrollment experiences of seven colleges over a number of successive semesters.

The data gathered for this project may be compared with other surveys. A New York survey for 1968-69 reported an enrollment of 2,759 in colleges offering Black Studies courses. This represented 6.5 percent of the 42,475 students enrolled [B7; also chapter I of this report]. A similar survey made for the spring 1969 semester in the eight Los Angeles colleges reported an enrollment of 1,231 in 11 courses. Total enrollment in the colleges was 86,000. (See Tables 5, 6, and 7)

ENROLLMENT TRENDS

From the information gathered for this study, and from that in the New York and Los Angeles studies, the following tentative conclusions may be drawn:

1. Black Studies courses are most numerous in colleges with heavy black enrollments.

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* Afro-American Studies Program at Merritt College, 1969. 4pp (Flyer).

TABLE 5
BLACK STUDIES ENROLLMENT
FOR INDIVIDUAL COLLEGES, FALL 1970

College	Enrollment in Black Studies courses	College enrollment	Black enrollment	Ethnic origin of instructors
1. Allegheny Campus Community College of Allegheny County Pennsylvania	117	3,400	650	B
2. College of Marin California	233	4,000	350	B
3. Compton College California	92	5,900	3,100	B
4. Malcolm X College Chicago	994*	3,200	3,000	B,W
5. Penn Valley Community College, Kansas City Missouri	94	3,025	970	B
6. San Jose City College California	411**	6,500	225	B

*Represents the number of students enrolled in traditional Black Studies courses. The college classifies most courses offered as Black Studies.

**Represents the number of students enrolled in the Black Studies and standard courses included in a separate schedule of classes taught from a black perspective.

2. On the basis of the number of additional colleges offering Black Studies courses in fall 1970 over fall 1969 and of the trend over the past four semesters, it may be conjectured that the enrollment in 1970 is greater than in 1969.

3. The enrollment trend is largely black, except in colleges that already have predominantly white student bodies.

4. The instructors of the courses are predominantly black.

5. A favorable administrative attitude has a marked positive effect on enrollment. The opposite is true where administrators do not believe in the need for Black Studies or are indifferent toward it.

6. An even more marked effect on enrollment occurs when members of the governing board express an interest in Black Studies. The absence of Black

TABLE 6
COMPARATIVE BLACK STUDIES ENROLLMENT FOR COLLEGES IN MULTI-COLLEGE DISTRICTS, FALL 1970

College	Enrollment in Black Studies courses	College enrollment	Black enrollment	Ethnic origin of instructors
1. Community College Denver, Colorado				
Auraria Campus	29	600	103	B
North Campus	29	3,133	Not reported	B
West Campus	25	1,770	Not reported	B
2. Junior College District of St. Louis, St. Louis County, Missouri				
Florissant Valley College	47	5,500	150	0B, 1W
Forest Park College	300	6,000	2,500	9B, 2W
Meramec College	70	6,100	600	2B
3. Los Rios Community College District, Sacramento, California				
American River College	188	9,200	450	B, 1W
Cosumnes River College	70	1,700	170	B
Sacramento City College	252	7,800	550	B, 1W
4. Oakland Community College District, Michigan				
Auburn Hills Campus	42	3,574	259	B
Highland Lakes Campus	0	1,787	121	B
Orchard Hills Campus	171	6,114	470	B
Community and Educational Services	215	3,686	Not available	B

Studies courses among the offerings of some large urban colleges in the Southern region is attributable to the opposition of board members. Though to a lesser extent, this is also true in a few Northern colleges.

7. In colleges with a predominantly white enrollment, a course or two attracts students if the administrators are committed to the need for Black Studies.

TABLE 7
BLACK STUDIES ENROLLMENT FOR INDIVIDUAL COLLEGES FOR TWO OR MORE SEMESTERS

Term	Enrollment in Black Studies courses					College enrollment	Black enrollment	Ethnic origin of instructors
	F68	S69	F69	S70	F70	F70	F70	
College								
Bakersfield College California				264	238	6,000	520	B,W
El Camino College California		78	53	168	139	8,500	250	B,W
Highland Park Community College, Michigan				128	206	3,000	2,500	B
Los Angeles City College, California	92	349	538	620	677	10,700	2,900	B
South Campus, Macomb County Community College, Michigan			73	65	34	6,000	600	1B, 5W
Los Angeles Southwest College, California				123	140	1,745	1,660	B,W
Merritt College, Oakland, California	894		530		879	9,500	3,800	B

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER IV

There was and is no one process for introducing Black Studies courses and curriculums—the process varies from college to college. Often, colleges by-pass the usual procedures to satisfy student demands or meet deadlines set by governing boards.

The formal process of introducing Black Studies courses and curriculums may be illustrated from the experience at Forest Park Community College, one of three colleges in the Junior College District of St. Louis. The initial request came in the spring of 1969 from the Association of Black Collegians (ABC), a student group at the college. In accordance with district curriculum policy, a committee of faculty, administrators, and representatives from ABC, assisted by representatives from the other district colleges, developed an Afro-American Curriculum. The curriculum was then referred to the district instructional committee, which includes the dean of instruction and the assistant to the district president. The recommendations of the district committee were reviewed by the President's Council, composed of the district president and four vice presidents (three of whom were college presidents). With the council's concurrence, the curriculum was submitted to the Board of Trustees for final approval.*

The following excerpts from the job description for program director illustrate the procedures of Forest Park Community College. They are reproduced for the guidance of other educators interested in adopting a program and contain an excellent description of the responsibilities of a Black Studies program director.

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* Letter: William Edward Snead, President, Forest Park Community College, to John Lombardi, September 21, 1970.

JOB DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM DIRECTOR

The black studies curriculum director will participate in and be a major influence on the recruitment, selection, evaluation, and promotion of faculty members and staff in the black studies program. He shall plan and promote research of sufficient quantity and quality in such areas as equipment/materials, selection and retention of students, and curriculum patterns to enable the curriculum to achieve its educational goals in a manner . . . both effective and economical.

He shall initiate and coordinate special activities and programs within the college. [This was defined to mean irregular events, such as, but not limited to, bringing in high school students for a particular event or session, or a program such as one by the National College Athletic Association conducted in the FPCC gymnasium.]

He shall be instrumental in suggesting and bringing about effective revision of the content of those courses outside the black curriculum, working in cooperation with the respective division chairmen to effect change.

He shall maintain community and public relations by accepting speaking engagements for the purpose of disseminating information on the availability and goals of the black studies program to the community in general. [News releases would be submitted through Community Relations according to district procedure.]

In addition, he shall attend the meetings of the black studies program advisory committee.

From this job description, specifications were developed for an Assistant Dean of Instruction for Afro-American Studies.

Although the ethnic origin of the director is not specified, Forest Park did select a black to fill the position. For the foreseeable future, this is a necessary condition for the success of a Black Studies program. In nearly every case brought to the attention of this project, a black is in charge either as director, as assistant dean, or as department or division chairman. However, in a college with an Ethnic Studies Division in which Mexican-American students form the largest group, the division chairman is likely to be a Mexican-American. In that case, if the Black Studies subdivision comprises more than one or two instructors, a black is usually appointed as assistant chairman for Black Studies.

Most colleges in a multi-college district have similar procedures, but courses, once adopted by the board, are available to any of the colleges in the district. For example, North Seattle Community College, which opened in September 1970, includes in its first catalog the same courses offered at the older Seattle Central Community College. Some districts–Los Angeles (eight colleges), Maricopa (Phoenix, Arizona, five colleges), Chicago (eight colleges)–maintain catalogs, directories, banks of courses, and curriculums as pools from which any district college may, with minor safeguards, select the courses it wishes to offer.

Even though multi-college districts maintain common catalogs, the offerings vary according to ethnic distribution of students, administrators, and faculty; attitude of administrators and instructors; and location of the college. In the City Colleges of Chicago system, Malcolm X College offers (or will offer) 27 of the 34 Black Studies courses listed in the 1970 catalog, while the other colleges will offer from one to eight. In Los Angeles, City College lists 12 of the 16 courses included in the district catalog for 1970-71; East Los Angeles College, eight; and Los Angeles Valley College, seven.

In some multi-campus districts, campus autonomy is permitted. Each college develops its own courses and curriculums subject to approval by a district

committee and the governing board. The common listing of courses in the Chicago catalog is really a compilation of courses developed at each separate college. At the Peralta District of Oakland, California, each of the four colleges has limited freedom to develop and organize its own courses and curriculums, "subject to a district Instructional Council composed of students, instructors, and college and district administrators, which has overall jurisdiction over new courses, programs, and proposals of an instructional nature when, in the judgment of the Director of Educational Services, such courses, programs, or proposals have special implications for all the Peralta Colleges" [F32]. Thus, Merritt College organizes its courses under an Afro-American Studies Department [E3:46], while Laney College has a Black curriculum unit in an Ethnic Studies Department including Asian, Mexican-American, and Native American Curriculums [A2m:91]. Merritt courses are listed as Afro-American 1, 2, 3, etc., while Laney courses are listed under the subject disciplines.

The development of Black Studies courses at Merritt is detailed in a book by a militant counselor, in two articles by successive chief executive officers, and in a district publication. Together these constitute a case study of the development of a pioneer program. A briefer description of the Laney procedure is also available in the district publication cited in the bibliography [F31].

In single-college districts, the process of developing courses and curriculums is slightly less complicated. All the personnel involved in curriculum planning are associated with the college, except for an occasional consultant. An interdisciplinary curriculum committee including student, faculty, and administrative representatives is fairly common. Legal or *pro-forma* approval by the board is usually part of the process.

A Black Studies course grew out of an exchange of visits by instructors and students from Golden West College, a predominantly white school, and sociology classes at Compton College, with a predominantly black enrollment. After the visit, the Golden West dean of instruction received a request from the students through the Social Sciences Division "to develop a course [to] provide better understanding of the black man's problem in the American society." The division developed a course, "The Black Man in American Society," and, on the advice of the division, the dean secured the part-time services of a Compton College instructor. The course has had consistently high enrollment and the enthusiastic support of the students.*

Black Studies courses are organized in one of two patterns:

1. They may be distributed among the various disciplines, a practice followed by colleges offering only a few courses, as well as by those offering many courses and majors in Afro-American Studies. In these colleges, Black Studies courses will be designated by number, i.e., English 20, History 11, Music 8.

2. They may be grouped as a separate discipline, a practice found only in colleges offering a large number of courses. In these colleges, Black Studies courses will have course numbers preceded by the designation "Black Studies" or "Afro-American Studies."

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* Letter: William F. Shawl, Dean of Academic Affairs, Golden West College, California, to John Lombardi, October 7, 1970.

Occasionally, a college will list the same course in each of the above groups. Organizational patterns for the development, supervision, and promotion of Black Studies curriculums also vary:

1. In colleges offering few courses, no special provision outside the usual institutional pattern is made. Responsibility resides in the dean of instruction (or officer with comparable duties) and the chairmen of the various departments in which Black Studies courses are placed. Suggestions for additional courses may come from students, faculty, administrators, or trustees. Sometimes one of the instructors (usually a black) of a Black Studies course may be given responsibility for coordinating activities relating to them.

2. In colleges with many Black Studies courses, responsibility varies according to the grouping of courses:
   a. colleges whose courses are distributed among the various disciplines usually appoint a coordinator, assistant dean, or director to supervise the activities related to the development of Black Studies.
   b. colleges whose courses are grouped in a separate department usually follow the same practice as other disciplines, with a department chairman in charge.

3. Colleges with large enrollments from several ethnic groups are developing Ethnic Studies divisions. In this pattern, Afro-American Studies or Black Studies is only one of two or more ethnic subdivisions. The Ethnic Studies division director or chairman may be from any of the ethnic subdivisions. Usually each ethnic subdivision has its own director, coordinator, or chairman. At Los Angeles City College, this organizational pattern is called the Cultural Arts Department; at New York City Community College, it is called the Afro-American and Latin-American Program.

4. In the Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought (a branch of the college), a student from Sacramento City College supervises the program. It is the only case reported where a student is in charge of a Black Studies program.

DEGREE PROGRAMS

Associate in Arts programs with a major in Afro-American Studies or Black Studies are appearing in colleges, especially those with large black enrollments such as Merritt College, Forest Park Community College, Malcolm X College, Los Angeles City College, or Prairie State College, Illinois. These and other colleges also offer inter-disciplinary degree programs combining Black Studies courses with courses in other departments.

INSTITUTIONAL AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Institutional aims and objectives of Black Studies as found in catalogs, brochures, circulars, descriptions of courses, and in the speeches and writings of college administrators and faculty recapitulate and incorporate much of what was contained in the black militants' demands.

The essence of what has come to be called Black Consciousness is "the redefinition of Afro-Americans by themselves in order to develop a healthy psychological identity to which other ethnic groups may relate in a positive, dignified, humanistic manner. Education used as an instrument for transforming culture and developing individuals can play an important role in preserving the fruits of the black liberation struggle—dignity, self-respect and

self-determination" [E2]. The essence of Black Consciousness in Afro-Americanism is often stated as the institutional aim.

To most black junior college educators, the Black Studies courses are "an extension of the concept of liberal education" and an attempt to redress the imbalance caused by the failure of liberal education "to meet the needs of the minority students." Through Black Studies courses, black students expect to achieve insights into "identity problems, ego strengthening, awakening of self-esteem, reassurance of human dignity, and development of group pride."

To others, like Charles G. Hurst, President of Malcolm X College, every course and every activity must be infused with the aims of Black Studies. He wrote in a brochure announcing the opening of the 1969-70 year that:

> Malcolm X Community College is to become a Black institution–one in which the educational services will be designed to uniquely serve the goals of Black people. As the community becomes more clear about the kind of society it is trying to build, we must design our educational programs to promote the Black agenda. There is emerging a degree of consensus among Black people that our educational system has to "prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige buildings, cars or other things, whether privately or publicly owned [A2j].

The Merritt College catalog does not contain an institutional statement, but the flyer announcing its Afro-American Studies Program defines it as:

> . . . primarily a response to the needs and demands of the Afro-American community, a large segment of the Peralta Junior College District . . . . It can be of vital importance to the student in that it makes available a new perspective on Afro-Americans which is not currently provided in educational institutions in America. It is a step in the direction of recognizing Afro-Americans as fellow Americans in terms defined by Afro-Americans themselves [E2].

Sometimes the objective is a short and inclusive announcement as in the Chicago City College catalog:

> The College is expanding its wide variety of courses that serve to introduce students to the heritage, cultural contributions, and social and psychological problems of Black Americans [A1a:60-61].

At Lane Community College in Oregon, the history of the American Negro

> . . . is designed to have a socio-economic slant on the problems, successes, and failures of the American Negro. The course is designed to give our predominantly white student population the background necessary to understand the minority problems of today and to serve for the second part of the sequence, a course in social psychology of the black [B10].

The director of Black Studies at Wayne County Community College believes that

> . . . a viable Black Studies program relevant to the needs of our community today, must rest on a concept that includes the past, present and future. The prime intent of the program must be to equip its students with the knowledge essential for the betterment of the Black Community. An historical and cultural foundation is essential, but must merely serve as a springboard to solve the problems of today and anticipate the problems of tomorrow* [A2z:33].

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* Letter: V. Lonnie Peek, Jr., to Miss Joyce A. Durden, October 1, 1970.

When the educational purposes of an institution are not exclusively devoted to the aims and objectives of the black movement, Black Studies merely becomes another part of the educational offerings. At Sauk Valley College, Black Studies is woven throughout the fabric of the courses in the Social Science Division. The institution designed the courses to broaden the educational opportunities of black and white students and to help close the economic, social, and educational gap that separates black citizens from other Americans. The instructors in the division who have made the problems of Black America a special concern are "committed to the progressive upgrading, expanding, and coordination of teaching and research in Black Studies" [A2s].

The Afro-American Studies program at Pasadena City College "is designed to establish the means by which Black Students may find an identity and pride in themselves" and to provide "students of other ethnic backgrounds with an exposure to the true image of the Black man in order to enhance greater understanding within this society" [A2v:116].

Many white educators welcome the Black Studies courses because they have the potential for giving new meaning to the lives of both black and white students. The president of Fresno City College felt the college experience became more relevant to the needs of these students and now embodies a deep concern for the goals of self-assertion, self-direction, and self-determination that characterize the free man and reaffirm his individual dignity and worth.*

The California Federation of Teachers adopted a resolution supporting "the implementation of 'Black Curricula' at all levels of public education in California" to include "the creation of new courses and new units of study and the revision of present courses and present units of study so as to best give all students an appreciation of the true nature of the Afro-American culture and experience as well as the cultures and experiences of all ethnic minorities in American life" [E8:277].

EMERGENCE OF ETHNIC STUDIES OBJECTIVES

Institutional aims and objectives devoted exclusively to Black Studies are being supplemented by those of Ethnic Studies. Since 1969 this trend emphasizes ethnic programs or combines Black or Afro-American Studies with Latin-American, Mexican-American, and other ethnic-oriented programs. It has made greatest headway in California, although it is appearing in other states. While Ethnic Studies is prominently featured in catalogs, schedules of classes, and announcements, usually Black Studies courses and programs form the major subdivision of this inter-disciplinary pattern. Mexican-American, Latin-American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban courses and programs are the second most frequent components. In Arizona, Amerindian emphasis is provided at some colleges on or near reservations. Asian-American Studies has had some interest shown it, but it has not yet emerged as a significant movement, comparable to the others.

At Sacramento City College "Ethnic Studies are intended to serve the needs, demands, and experiences of [the city's] minority communities." It makes available to students "a new and fuller perspective on Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Asian-Americans . . . [hitherto] not fully provided in educational institutions" [A2w:92].

* Clyde C. McCully to Miss Bonnie Calvert, May 12, 1969.

Diablo Valley College in the San Francisco Bay area introduced a special Ethnic Studies Schedule of Classes with the statement:

> The current search for identity has led many students to a close study of their ethnic origins.... As a part of their *general education,* all students are required to examine their American Institutions, including the contributions by and accommodations made to the many ethnic groups which comprise the complex American Society [A2e:57].

A similar announcement by the president of the New York City Community College listed the following objectives of the Afro-American and Latin-American Program:

1. to supplement existing programs [that] fail to meet the needs of Black and Latin-American students
2. to make available to our students sound, scholarly courses in Afro-American and Latin-American studies, areas previously neglected in higher education
3. to enable concerned Black and Latin-American students to develop a sense of identity and expand the knowledge of their heritage
4. to provide an opportunity for interested students to complete a program of study which will be fully transferable to the senior college baccalaureate programs . . . now under development in the University [A2t].

A comparison of the statements in the 1968-69, 1969-70, and 1970-71 catalogs of Los Angeles City College illustrates the transition from an Afro-American Studies approach to the broader Ethnic Studies development of recent years. In the 1968-69 catalog, the only reference to purpose or objectives appears in the introductory statement to an Afro-American Studies liberal arts curriculum:

> This curriculum is designed to provide an opportunity for the student to complete a two-year undergraduate major in Afro-American studies [A1c].

In 1969-70, Afro-American Studies appears as a regular department in the departmental organization section of the catalog, with the following introduction and list of objectives:

> The Afro-American Studies Department is a unified approach to an inter-disciplinary study of the Black Experience. The curriculum organization deals with the Black Experience in Africa and America, with an emphasis on the latter. The American Experience presents a perspective which includes historical, economic, political, sociological, and psychological investigations of the Black Experience [A1c].

The specific objectives of Afro-American Studies are:

1. to deal with the legitimate and urgent academic endeavors of Afro-Americans that traditional curricula have not dealt with in the past
2. to provide an opportunity to complete a two-year undergraduate major in Afro-American studies
3. to provide a comprehensive examination of the Afro-American Experience
4. to define and encourage a new consciousness of the Afro-American Experience.

In the 1970-71 Los Angeles City College catalog, the Afro-American Studies Department is replaced by an American Cultures Department under which Black Studies courses are included as one of four ethnic subgroupings. The objectives of courses that now focus more sharply on other ethnic cultures than on the Afro-American are:

1. to present the contributions made by the various ethnic cultures within the United States

2. to assist the members of the ethnic groups within the American culture to gain an appreciation of their heritage and of their unique contributions to the American culture

3. to provide an opportunity to complete a two-year undergraduate major in specific subject fields

4. to provide all students with opportunity to gain an appreciation of the contributions made by the many ethnic cultures that are part of the American culture.

Significant in the evolution from Black Studies to Ethnic Studies are the actions of the Colorado State Board for Community Colleges and Occupational Education and the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges. The Colorado Board's resolution for the guidance of the state's community colleges stresses a broad ethnic studies approach and at the same time outlines the aims and objectives of ethnic studies. The resolution states:

WHEREAS, In those instances where history courses are revised to accurately reflect the role minorities have played in American history and where the arts, crafts, music, and other cultural achievements of participating minority groups and students are given proportionate display and recognition, the shock of transition that frequently occurs when some minority or other disadvantaged persons first enter into the collegiate setting may be eased, be it therefore

RESOLVED THAT THE STATE BOARD FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES AND OCCUPATIONAL EDUCATION URGES BOTH STATE SYSTEM AND DISTRICT COLLEGES TO DEVELOP AND RECOGNIZE IN APPROPRIATE BROAD COURSES THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY THE VARIOUS MINORITIES AND DEVELOP SUCH COMPREHENSIVE BROAD BASED PROGRAMS, PROCEDURES AND SERVICES AS MAY BE NEEDED TO ENHANCE THE OPPORTUNITY OF VARIOUS DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS TO ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN AND CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAIN STREAM OF CAMPUS LIFE [F34:5].

In a similar action on February 20, 1969, the California Board of Governors urged all community college districts to offer "Afro-American studies and other culturally related studies to provide community college students with a better understanding and knowledge about these cultures."*

A year later the Educational Programs Committee of the Board took under advisement a request of the Board of Directors of the California Junior College Association that a course on ethnic studies be required of all students seeking an associate degree or certificate.

This trend, substituting Ethnic Studies for Black Studies, seems to be making headway with little open opposition by black students or instructors—nor has there been much discussion of it. The Ethnic Studies pattern seems simply to have evolved. In the light of the strong position for program control earlier taken by the activists in their demands, this development is surprising. One may only speculate on the causes. Perhaps the simplest explanation for the relative ease with which this has been accomplished is that the Black Studies unit has

* Educational Programs Committee: "Agenda Item 11, June 24-25, 1970, Appendix A."

remained intact under black leadership, has not been submerged in the new organization, and is not being scuttled or downgraded.

Colleges instituting Black Studies (and other Ethnic Studies) generally aim to overcome the deficiencies of present programs in meeting the needs of black (and other minority) students by committing themselves and the college to serving the educational needs of all of its students.

Institutional aims and objectives recapitulate and refine what black student militants demanded during the Black Activism period. They emphasize positive aspects: what the courses and curriculums can do for black (and other ethnic) students.

The goal of Black Studies is to help black students. To meet this goal, black students must gain the knowledge necessary to contribute to the betterment of the black community and society through the solution of present problems and anticipation of future problems; to acquire a new perspective on Afro-Americans, recognizing themselves as fellow Americans but in terms defined by the Afro-American; to introduce themselves to the heritage, cultural contributions, and problems of Black Americans; and to experience a more relevant education.

Three significant developments are emerging in institutional aims and objectives:

1. transforming the entire curriculum to promote the "black agenda"; this is being promoted in some urban colleges with almost 100 percent black enrollment and with black administrators and instructors
2. broadening the aims and objectives of standard courses to include the Black Experience, sometimes without the addition of special Black Studies courses, but most frequently along with them
3. supplementing or supplanting the aims and objectives of Black Studies by those of Ethnic Studies. This is making most headway in large urban colleges with substantial minority groups. It is being fostered by state boards and professional associations.

SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed the successful experiences in and practices for implementing a Black Studies program at selected colleges in various parts of the country. Other examples may be selected from the Bibliography, particularly the references (Section E) to the development of the Black Studies program at Merritt College. These constitute a case study recapitulating the Black Studies movement as it emerged from its emphasis on the curriculum to today's focus on community control. Chapter V, "Continuing Issues," will also have observations on implementing a program.

The summary that follows contains suggestions for implementing a Black Studies program. These suggestions have been gleaned from interviews, descriptions of procedures in periodicals and books, reviews of college catalogs, and correspondence with curriculum coordinators. The suggestions do not constitute a cookbook recipe. Each college planning to introduce Black Studies must adapt practices to its own situation, no matter how successful they were at another college. No single plan or model will fit all situations.

1. Organize a committee of students, faculty, and administrators. If community interest exists, community representatives should be included. This committee may be the regular curriculum committee, one of its subcommittees, or an *ad hoc* committee. One college includes a board member. In any case, keep the board advised at every stage in the process.

2. Review the experience of other colleges through
   a. catalogs–for courses, organizational pattern, curriculum if any
   b. schedule of classes–for number of courses offered and number of sections in each course
   c. course outlines–for objectives, texts, readings, and media
   d. brochures or leaflets
   e. statements or announcements of president, faculty, or other educators listing issues and problems (and possible solutions)
   f. regional, state, and national surveys
   g. reports of conferences on Black Studies
   h. visits to colleges with programs.

3. Appoint a coordinator, preferably a black, to supervise the implementation of the program.

4. Appoint black instructors to teach the first courses.

5. If the Black Studies courses are organized into a separate department, choose a chairman in the same manner other chairmen are chosen–by election or by administrative appointment.

6. The situation will determine if the chairman should be the same person as the coordinator. Not only can most colleges not support two administrative positions, but such an arrangement may lead to conflict.

7. Wherever possible, design courses with their transferability in mind. This makes courses appealing to white students and doubly attractive to black students. At the same time, confer with the admission officers of nearby senior institutions concerning transfer.

8. Develop degree programs with a major in Black Studies or with an interdisciplinary major combining Black Studies courses with other disciplines.

9. List some courses in two or more departments to help students fulfill subject and unit requirements in a particular discipline for graduation, credentials, transfer, and majors. For example, listing History of Africa as Afro-American 6 and as History 27 makes it possible for a student majoring in history to enroll in the course with a History rather than an Afro-American designation. This double entry system is a practice of long standing in many colleges.

10. Designate certain sections of a course as English Composition (Black Emphasis) or Introduction to Psychology (Emphasis on the Afro-American Experience) or Introduction to Sociology (Emphasis on Racial, Cultural Minorities) as an alternative to developing separate courses. Since these courses are offered under the regular course numbers, they may be used for meeting any of the requirements for which the standard courses were designed. A variation of this practice is to broaden the content of standard courses in social science, humanities, and English by including topics relating to the Black Experience and readings by black authors.

CONTINUING ISSUES

CHAPTER V
OVERVIEW

Mainly as a result of experience—reactions from students, faculty, and community leaders—and study and experimentation, it is apparent that Black Studies has already gone through major changes in courses, curriculum patterns, and departmental organization. This should not be surprising inasmuch as the introduction of Black Studies involved more than the addition of a few courses and a curriculum or the selection of texts and adoption of library books. It involved the introduction of a new organizational pattern incorporating courses from several disciplines and cutting across departmental lines to a greater extent than ever before experienced in the community college. It included the demands of student extremists to select, evaluate, and dismiss faculty and administrators. In many colleges, this meant control of the Black Studies curriculum; in a few urban colleges, the objective was control of the institution by black administrators and faculty.

Since resolution of issues took place under emergency situations that changed from confrontation to confrontation, it is easy to understand why many educators did not address themselves to the development of a rationale or a philosophical position that attempted to reconcile the demands of the militants with traditional policies and customs. This was (and is) especially true for the new, separatist doctrine versus the old, established integrationist tradition held almost universally by whites and some blacks.

A few administrators and faculty did develop a rationale or a philosophical position. In many instances, this involved only an enumeration of the issues or a series of questions; in a few, it resulted in an analysis and a proposal, a suggestion, or a prediction of the probable evolutionary outcome of the struggle between the black militants and the educators.

Many educators favored a middle course as a bridge between the separatist position and the ideal of integration that seemed so remote—to some it still seems so. One proposal involved acknowledgment of racial and ethnic subdivisions in which students were offered humanities, arts, and social sciences—subjects in which the culture of the racial or ethnic groups received adequate treatment. Such a plan might offer the opportunity for a "sensitive response to the desires of minorities to explore their own heritage, and result more readily in eventual integration" [F8:68-71].

A community college professor found time in the midst of turmoil and resolution of issues to observe two opposing trends in an analysis of the dynamics of ethnic studies: (1) toward separatism because of psychological need; (2) toward independent integration, a rational approach. He predicted that the solution will come as a reaction to the conflict between the separatists and the integrationists. This conflict will be reflected on the affective level in those areas common to all humanity: (1) the concept and realization of brotherhood; (2) the search for a meaning of existence; (3) the capacity for joy of living; and (4) the quality of the relationship between members of the ethnic group in the family, community, and national environment.

In each of these areas, the political point of view emphasizes ethnic separatism—determining one's own destiny and superiority, and achieving political action and structure. The non-political aspects concentrate on universal human experience, interdependent experience, uniqueness as opposed to superiority, and the relationship of ethnic groups in a pluralistic society. The author postulated three stages in the evolutionary process: (1) sudden awareness, a traumatic experience; (2) employment of political means to achieve satisfactions revealed by the sudden awareness; and (3) the transition "from social satisfaction and political aspirations to the contemplation of the non-political aspects of a liberal education" [A2y].

Reflection among community college educators had to give way to discussion of the issues raised by the militants, issues seriously discussed by administrators, faculty, and governing boards, who often resolved them in favor of the changes advocated by the militants. The most succinct statement of the issues appeared in two memorandums—one, a report of a meeting of black faculty members; the other, a list of questions the president of the college presented to the faculty for their consideration. Both are from Los Angeles City College, whose day enrollment of 10,000 is 25 to 30 percent black.

In the fall of 1968, Los Angeles City College was offering Black Studies courses taught exclusively by black instructors and taken almost exclusively by black students, but these did not satisfy black militants, who kept harrassing the administration with demands and disrupting the college by sit-ins, boycotts, and petty depradations of property. While this was going on, black faculty members met to discuss their role and their position regarding the demands. At a meeting in December 1968, the instructors agreed that:

1. The definition of a Black Studies department was still in process at four-year colleges.
2. The example of San Francisco State College, where black militants wanted an autonomous department, was not applicable to Los Angeles City College.

3. Whatever is defined as a Black Studies department would have to be articulated with the nearby University of California, Los Angeles, and California State College at Los Angeles. Since neither of these institutions had completed the process of establishing a Black Studies curriculum, flexibility was considered more important than organizing a rigid separate department.

4. The two-year college must offer programs that will not penalize transfer students. The question was stated thus: "How can a Black Studies program be articulated with general education so that transferable units in Black Studies will enable students to be flexible in their choice of four-year programs?"

5. Before a Black Studies department is organized, an agreement should be reached regarding procedures for hiring and dismissing black faculty.

6. The appointment of a black director of the Afro-American Studies Program was recommended.*

The issues dealing with organization, transferability of courses, selection of instructors, and supervision are still pertinent for colleges planning Black Studies courses.

While the black instructors were discussing these issues among themselves, the president of the college was engaged in a similar activity. After consulting with administrators, faculty, and students (whenever they would consent), he submitted a list of questions to the faculty for their consideration. How pervasive and inclusive these are is quite evident in the memorandum from which the following queries are extracted:

1. In what ways can the needs of Black students be served better with a separate department than with an orderly expansion of the existing interdisciplinary Afro-American Studies program?

2. How many Black students on the campus want a separate department? How many would take courses in such a department? What courses do they want? Which do they want offered in this separate department?

3. Which of our existing Afro-American courses would be included in such a department if it were established? Which would remain in existing departments? How is this to be determined?

4. What new courses should be established? Which would be offered in the separate department? Which would be offered in existing departments? How is this to be determined?

5. Would the teachers involved teach only in the Black Studies department? If so, how would they be provided with a full teaching load?

6. How many units in a Black or Afro-American Studies major could a student transfer to a four-year college? How many units could be taken in the lower division? [A2i].

The City College list did not include the issues involving the qualification and selection of teachers, for both had already been resolved. Instructors were to be black, credentialed by the State Department of Education, and selected by the same process followed for other instructors. For other colleges and especially for

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* To: All Black Faculty Members; From: Nine Black Faculty Members; Subject: Position of the Black faculty; December 23, 1968 (ditto).

the universities, these problems still loom large, as shown by the following questions posed by Bornholdt:

> A more significant issue was the absence of a litmus test to determine who was qualified to teach Black Studies. Who was to qualify the qualifier? Should it be the conventional university authority? or the students–Black and White–who had demanded the programs or the Black scholars already serving the University? or the Black community? or some combination of these? Was being Black to be an essential criterion for faculty in Black Studies programs? or only a desideratum? or even an irrelevancy? [F6].

Bornholdt's statement, together with the City College excerpts, contains nearly all the issues that may be encountered by a college in the process of instituting a Black Studies program. One other that may crop up from time to time revolves around the usage of the terms NEGRO, AFRO-AMERICAN, and BLACK. Four issues–use of the three terms, ethnic origin of instructors, quality and relevance of Black Studies, and control of Black Studies and colleges–are selected for extended discussion because of their continued pervasiveness in the urban community college.

NEGRO? AFRO-AMERICAN? BLACK?

Within the community colleges, just as in the community, divergent opinions exist about the use of NEGRO, AFRO-AMERICAN, and BLACK to describe the people, the courses, and the programs associated with Black Studies. Although some trends are observable, each term has its advocates and its adversaries. In this short historical sketch and brief survey of usage, emphasis will be on the current practices as observed in the black secular publications, in the speeches and writings of black students, educators, and community leaders, and in official college publications. In addition to these three terms, another, ETHNIC is now coming into vogue and will receive some attention. This term, while important to many people, does not arouse the intensity of feeling that the others do.

NEGRO. Although used since the eighteenth century, NEGRO had its greatest vogue from 1890 to 1950. During this period appeared the American Negro Academy, National Negro Business League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the *Negro Yearbook.* Today the older leaders, especially those associated with the NAACP, are the principal users and defenders of NEGRO.

Those who prefer NEGRO, do not seem to object to AFRO-AMERICAN and BLACK. Few of them have the animus toward BLACK that those who advocate BLACK have toward NEGRO. The ambiguous feelings of some ethnic leaders may be deduced from W.E.B. DuBois's defense [F13] of NEGRO in a letter to a high school student and his use of BLACK in his three books, *The Souls of Black Folk, The Gifts of Black Folk: Then and Now,* and *Black Reconstruction.* Even in *Crisis* [F9], the NAACP organ, BLACK instead of NEGRO occasionally appears; this is also true in *The Journal of Negro History.* Despite its widespread use, resistance to NEGRO has been "continuous and sustained" among many literate people.

AFRO-AMERICAN. AFRO-AMERICAN has had two periods of ascendancy, once in the nineteenth century before its displacement by NEGRO and again during the 1950s, when it was challenged by BLACK. AFRO-AMERICAN does not evoke the strong antagonistic feelings that either NEGRO or BLACK does.

In the early period, AFRICAN or AFRO-AMERICAN seemed to be favored in such names as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Baptist Church, the National Afro-American League, the *Baltimore Afro-American,* and the Free African Society. More recently, AFRO-AMERICAN or some variation has begun to displace NEGRO. The Negro Teachers Association of New York City became the African-American Teachers Association and the *New York Amsterdam News* began using AFRO-AMERICAN because, one of the editors wrote, "We are descendants of Africans and we are Americans."

Keith Baird, Coordinator of the Afro-American History and Cultural Center of the New York City Board of Education, claims that AFRO-AMERICAN has a historical and cultural precision that is absent from BLACK, although he does not object to its use. AFRO-AMERICAN is comparable to the terms ITALIAN-AMERICAN, POLISH-AMERICAN, JEWISH-AMERICAN and SPANISH-AMERICAN NEGRO, "a slave-oriented epithet imposed on Americans of African descent by slave-masters, is neither geographically or culturally specific. Nor is it synonymous for Black; one never says Negro Cadillac" [F2].

BLACK. The great majority of ethnic leaders use BLACK. An examination of two popular magazines, *Jet* and *Ebony,* confirms this preference. In both magazines, NEGRO, when used editorially and by most contributors, refers to those conforming to the values of white society. It has only a slightly less pejorative connotation than UNCLE TOM as in "integration of Negroes with black people" [F20], or "back there, before Jim Crow, before the invention of Negro . . ." [F1].

Community college educators prefer BLACK. In articles, Norvel Smith of Merritt and Charles G. Hurst of Malcolm X and, in his book, *Against the Odds,* William Moore of Seattle leave no doubt about their preference for BLACK. BLACK was used exclusively in the two-page "Crisis in the Country: Statement by Black Junior College Leaders," distributed by the American Association of Junior Colleges in May 1970. (Colleges represented were Kittrell, North Carolina; Kennedy-King, Chicago; Orchard Ridge, Michigan; Wayne County, Detroit; Compton, California; Mobile State Junior, Alabama; Washington Technical Institute, District of Columbia.)

An analysis of a report of the Southern Regional Educational Board on *New Challenges to the Junior Colleges* (1970) reveals a similar preference for BLACK over NEGRO. In all sections of the report except one, the terms are used interchangeably, but in the section containing the observations of black visitors to the five colleges studied, NEGRO is never used–in fact, neither is AFRO-AMERICAN.

Students have the same objection to NEGRO as the black educators do. In their newspapers, flyers, and position papers they rarely use it. Although AFRO-AMERICAN occasionally appears, the students' preference for BLACK stands out clearly. Unlike the early black student groups on the senior campuses, who used AFRO-AMERICAN in naming their organizations, community college students influenced by Malcolm X and the Black Power Movement use BLACK–as in Black Student Union, Association of Black Students, Association of Black Collegians, Black Progressives, as well as in *Black Awareness, Black Call,*

and *Black Guard* for their flyers and newspapers. An exception is the Afro-American Club of Southeast (now Olive Harvey) College in Chicago.

A panel at a Laney College Black Curriculum Workshop in December 1967, after discussing the question of usage, reported that "whether instructors should call their black students Negro, Afro-Americans, or Blacks is something the instructor can find out only by meaningful communication with his students" [Er]. Today, that question would not be raised. "Negro is *verboten*, not through mandate but simply as a prudent tactic. Young blacks hardly ever refer to themselves as Negro."*

In contrast to its sparing use in speeches and writings, AFRO-AMERICAN appears frequently in campus publications and announcements. So common is AFRO-AMERICAN becoming that a recent survey has the title *Afro-American Studies in Colleges and Universities, New York, 1968-69 and 1969-70* [B7]. A cursory examination of college catalogs confirms the educators' preference for AFRO-AMERICAN in the titles of curriculums and courses, as well as in references to majors and credentials. This is as true in colleges with black presidents as in those with white.

AFRO-AMERICAN came into vogue in official use not only because it was favored by administrators who may have developed a distaste for BLACK during the period of black student activism, but also because it conformed to the developing ethnic curriculum patterns. As Mexican-American, Latin-American and other hyphenated programs were added to the curriculum, Afro-American Studies seemed a more appropriate term than Black Studies. The administrators' desire for symmetry may have had as much influence in the replacement of Black Studies with Afro-American Studies as their dislike for the term BLACK. Even in course titles AFRO-AMERICAN is becoming as common as BLACK. It may happen as one black administrator notes, "Watch out for the onrushing term soon to be widely in commerce: African-American."*

In the community colleges, two reasons may account for this substitution: (1) the absence of a strong movement toward autonomy and separatism makes AFRO-AMERICAN acceptable to black students, faculty, and administrators; and (2) black students became accustomed to the use of AFRO-AMERICAN when they joined other minorities in "Third World" activities. However, to the extreme militants who favor separatism, a Black Studies program implies one controlled by blacks for blacks, while Afro-American Studies implies a program for blacks controlled by whites [F4].

BLACK still appears occasionally, as in "Black Studies at Sauk Valley College" [A2b] and *Black Studies in the State of Illinois: A directory* [B6]. It appears most frequently in the descriptions and titles of certain courses such as "Black Economics," "Black Humanities," "Black Community," "Black Experience," and "Black America."

As may be observed by inspection of the representative courses listed in Chapter III under Course Categories and Titles, NEGRO has almost disappeared.

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*Otis L. Bolden, Assistant Dean of Instruction, Afro-American Studies, Forest Park College, St. Louis, to John Lombardi, October 6, 1970.

In the offerings of 18 community colleges listed in *Black Studies in the State of Illinois*, NEGRO appears in the titles of only four. NEGRO is almost always used in the few course titles in Southern community colleges, and occurs occasionally even in an urban college with a large black enrollment.

NEGRO also appears in *descriptions* of courses with BLACK or AFRO-AMERICAN in the titles. This may be attributed to an oversight in editing or to preference. Sometimes in the same catalog differences appear among departments. In one, NEGRO is used in the descriptions; in another, only BLACK or AFRO-AMERICAN. No example of the use of NEGRO in the *title* of a curriculum pattern has come to the attention of the participants in this project.

ETHNIC. In describing and designating curriculums, Ethnic Studies is becoming the most common term in community colleges, especially since the introduction of courses in Mexican-American, Asian-American, American Indian, and Euro-American Studies. AFRO-AMERICAN continues to be used as a curriculum sub-heading and as a sub-departmental unit under Ethnic Studies.

TRENDS IN USAGE

From this survey of the use of NEGRO, BLACK, AFRO-AMERICAN, and ETHNIC, the following trends are observable:

1. BLACK is used more frequently than other terms in the writings and speeches of the leaders (including educators) of the ethnic group. It is preferred by students for the names of their organizations, newspapers, and flyers and is used more frequently in the description of courses and in announcements of community service programs as differentiated from the formal educational credit programs.
2. AFRO-AMERICAN is favored over BLACK in titles of courses, curriculums, programs, or organizations—such as Afro-American Studies, Afro-American Curriculum, or Afro-American Department.
3. ETHNIC STUDIES is replacing Black Studies and Afro-American Studies in divisional organizations.
4. NEGRO is used in course titles and descriptions in a few colleges. It has almost disappeared from course titles in urban colleges outside the South. The smaller the number of courses offered in a college, however, the greater the probability that NEGRO is used in course titles. It still appears in the descriptions of courses in all sections of the country.
5. NEGRO is disappearing from the institutional vocabulary. The trend, in frequency of use, for the other terms is:
   a. ETHNIC STUDIES for curriculum patterns encompassing more than one ethnic curriculum
   b. AFRO-AMERICAN for departmental subdivisions under Ethnic Studies
   c. AFRO-AMERICAN for course titles
   d. BLACK for course descriptions.

ETHNIC ORIGINS OF INSTRUCTORS

Ethnic origin of Black Studies instructors has been a continuous issue. Information is not definitive, but the tendency is to assign black instructors. Colleges with low black student enrollments are more likely to assign white instructors, whereas colleges with large black student enrollments assign black instructors. This is most marked in the large urban colleges that experienced serious student

disturbances, where black instructors now teach all the Black Studies courses. In these colleges, white instructors are reluctant to teach Black Studies courses. Quite a few have been forced to give up their Black Studies classes, or have asked to be relieved, because they are unable to satisfy the needs of the students.

Some administrators in all-white colleges feel that black instructors are essential if the students are to learn what blacks feel about themselves and about whites. Others think that "the race of a faculty member is not a criterion for assignment to academic responsibilities."

In some colleges with large black enrollments, an occasional white instructor is assigned to a Black Studies course. A dean of instruction reports that the college has "no formal policy that all Black Studies courses be taught by black instructors. Our feeling is that, in general, this should be the case, but we don't exclude the possibility that in some cases a non-black instructor might be better qualified,"* Another dean of a large urban college in which all Black Studies courses have also been taught by black instructors is considering assigning a white instructor next spring. The Wayne County Community College director of Black Studies plans "to utilize white instructors" to improve the acceptability of courses in white areas.**

Many black educators still believe strongly that only a black is capable of teaching a Black Studies course. To them "Black is an attitude." A white may be able to sympathize with a black, but he cannot empathize. Of equal concern to these educators are the problems of "getting blacks instead of Negroes" and of avoiding "black hustlers and opportunists as instructors" [B11:9-10]. A report on five Southern community colleges recommended more black faculty and counselors because "few white employees can counsel and penetrate social barriers that have deeply-rooted cultural foundations" [B9:10].

A good summary of this issue is contained in a statement prepared by an instructor of a Negro history class after black student militants had demanded his removal for alleged racism. In his statement, the instructor acknowledged to his colleagues that to resign "would be a breach of academic freedom" and, although "a black teacher might have insights that a white one would not," the "white teacher might . . . have perspectives that the black would not have." Despite these considerations, and after consultation with white colleagues and students, BSU leaders, his wife, and the administration, he decided to resign—noting that all of those he consulted, except the administration, advised him to do so. The most important consideration in his decision was to help maintain good relations, for "in most cases wherein blacks and whites contend, it is the whites who must first extend the hand of friendship." Moreover:

> . . . the BSU is certainly partially correct when it holds that for a black student to get the very story of what he is from a white person is, in the present American setting, compounding an existing inferiority complex. Even if they are not correct, in the context of our times, Negroes deserve the right to try things their own way, because a white-directed society has failed black America for centuries [A2f].

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* From: Berkeley Johnson, College of Marin, Kentfield, California; To: John Lombardi, October 2, 1970.

** V. Lonnie Peek, Jr., to Miss Joyce Durden, October 1, 1970.

Although not directly related to the issue of ethnicity of instructors, E. Clayton Calhoun's sentiments are similar to those of the white instructor quoted above when, in resigning the presidency of Paine College, Augusta, Georgia, he said:

> It hurts like hell to give up the presidency of Paine College . . . [but] . . . I am persuaded that I can no longer be its president. Not sometime, not forever, but *now*, given these stressful times, Paine College should have a black president who can speak for blacks. No white man can. I do not intend to try [A2d].

Ethnicity of instructors for Black Studies courses cannot be separated from the larger issue of the ethnic distribution of all employees. As pointed out in the quotation from Hurst in chapter IV (page 30), the institutional aims and objectives in black urban colleges include transforming the entire curriculum to promote the black agenda, while in other colleges they tend toward a broadening of the standard courses to include the black experience (sometimes without the addition of special Black Studies courses, most frequently accompanying their introduction). The result of these developments is that the issue of ethnicity of instructors becomes the broader issue of the ethnicity of all employees, since all are involved in the aims and objectives of Black Studies. Thus Miami-Dade Junior College administrators added 44 full-time black instructors, four para-professionals, and seven administrators in September 1970 as a visual means of convincing all students that they are to look on blacks as equals and that every black student who walks through the door is important to them [B8:11]. For similar reasons and as a result of continued student and community pressures, other colleges are conducting aggressive recruiting programs. Three are cited below.

Employment of Black Instructors and Administrators

	S67	S68	F69	S69	F70
1. Junior College District of St. Louis – St. Louis County, Missouri*			36		50
2. Los Angeles Community College District**	31	34		67	
3. Los Rios Community College District, Sacramento, California***					17
(Minority members not classified by ethnic group)			11		21

*Board of Trustees from Joseph P. Cosand, President; Subject: Numbers and Percentages of Black Employees, August 25, 1970.

**Informal telephone survey, spring 1969.

***An Affirmative Action for Ethnic Minorities: Present Practices and Procedures of Los Rios District, Part 1, Presented to Board, October 7, 1970, Sacramento, California.

As a practical matter, few colleges can assign an instructor full time to Black Studies courses because there are not enough classes in any one discipline for a full assignment. Even where there are enough classes, administrators offer black instructors the opportunity to teach standard courses in their discipline and, more importantly, those black instructors who are oriented toward disciplines as a rule insist on such mixed assignments. Parenthetically, some, after receiving tenure, begin moving out of the Black Studies area—but this is another issue. An instructor with a major in a regular discipline is also preferred by administrators because of the uncertainty of the future of Black Studies enrollment.

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN SELECTION AND RETENTION OF INSTRUCTORS

Associated with the issue of ethnicity is student participation in the selection, evaluation, and retention of instructors. This is not exclusively a Black Studies issue, since white student militants are also raising it with respect to all instructors. However, for black students this issue has racial overtones and involves the principle of community control.

Black students have made modest headway on this issue. In some colleges they participate as members of interviewing committees in the selection of instructors, but rarely are they given a majority voice or an official role in the retention or separation of instructors. The only exception that has come to the attention of this survey is at Oak Park, Sacramento, where a student is in charge. In a few colleges, student evaluations are conducted, but usually these are for the benefit of instructors. Early in the black activist movement, white faculty were forced to withdraw from Black Studies courses; today these withdrawals are less numerous. Some observers maintain that, since "black faculty *per se* provides no all-purpose answer for the learning problems of black students," the color of the instructor will become less important to the students than his qualifications.

As the number of black presidents and administrators increases, opportunities for blacks as instructors will also increase. For the near term, the conclusion must remain that this issue will continue until a more equitable proportion of blacks is employed. In the New York, Newark, and other urban public schools, this issue has led to a conflict between white-dominated unions and black instructors and community leaders. In junior colleges with large black enrollments and predominantly white faculties, the danger of racial conflict also exists. It remains a question whether college educators will be able to bring about an ethnic balance in staffing that will satisfy the blacks. Some administrators and boards, aware of the danger inherent in this issue, are attempting to bring about a balance that may prevent racial conflict. Others still believe that the parallel with the public schools does not hold, since, as noted above, college students are more interested in the qualifications of instructors than in their color.

On the narrower issue of black instructors for Black Studies courses, the evidence indicates that the student demands are being met. This study found a strong trend toward the assignment of black instructors, a trend also reported in two earlier surveys. A 1969 survey of Black Studies concluded that the trend was for more blacks to be assigned [B4]. A survey of New York colleges in 1970 predicted a rise in the percentage of black instructors in all types of institution

from 23.6 percent for 1968-69 to 26.4 percent for 1969-70, with the largest increase coming in private four-year and public two-year institutions [B7:5].

COURSE QUALITY

From the beginning of the Black Studies movement, concern has been expressed about the quality of the courses, the qualifications of instructors, and the performance of students. Critics charge that Black Studies courses are: (1) shallow and substandard, designed for students who cannot succeed in the more rigorous intellectually oriented courses; (2) poorly conceived, irrelevant, parochial, and racist; (3) used as a forum or platform for political propaganda or for perpetuating myths; and (4) taught by instructors chosen for their ghetto and militant experiences rather than for their intellectual and educational accomplishments [F38].

Proponents of Black Studies meet the charges head on. Charles Hurst announced that at Malcolm X College the theme will be "better education than can be obtained anywhere else." "Some people," he said in his inaugural address, "would like to think that Malcolm X College will be synonymous with low standards and free rides to degrees." Far from it, but it will be different from the traditional "Black education structured by white educators that was mediocre [and] encouraged failure and myths about Black inferiority" [A2k]. To the charge that a proposal for a new teaching credential in Black Studies involved a lowering of standards, another writer's reply was: "Black people aren't about to lower any standards; what we're doing is *raising* standards by considering new perspectives to define 'qualified.' The existent form of credentialing preserved 'the white man's welfare system' " [E8:51-2].

Some black students interpreted the rhetoric of their leaders as the beginning of a new era in education in which the increasing number of sympathetic black instructors would immediately redress the "wrongs" perpetrated by the prejudiced white instructors. To them "different education" meant an education in which they could get good grades with a minimum of effort. Some played on the sympathy of black instructors; a few tried threats to achieve passing grades.

Black students soon observed that, though black instructors might be more sympathetic than whites, they were no less insistent on standards in their classes. They may also have been dismayed to discover that some black instructors were even more difficult than their white counterparts. The more observant black students noted that the community of interest between instructors, black or white, was stronger than that between students and instructors, black or white.

Black educators and leaders spoke out against the anti-intellectualism prevalent among those who wanted "to feel good" but opposed "homework, research papers, etc." on the specious ground that these were a "honky bag." They reminded these students that "a true revolutionary . . . is one who will fight to get a course implemented . . . but who will also attend that course *and study*" [E8:264].

This early interest and emphasis on quality and excellence saved Black Studies from becoming a second-rate curriculum addition. Credit for this development must go to the black instructors (and white supporters) who kept asking themselves how they could protect the integrity and quality of instruction during the emergency when the demand for instructors exceeded the supply.

One group of black instructors, instead of glossing over or ignoring the poor preparation of many black students, candidly admitted, "We have assumed that . . . programs can be initiated for those limited academically," but "we have not sufficiently questioned that assumption."*

This emphasis on academic excellence of course content and instructor qualification was the theme expressed in a memorandum to participants in a curriculum workshop by its director, who wrote:

> Academic excellence must be the criterion. Afro-American Studies and Mexican-American (Chicano) Studies must be the academic equals of long-established programs in colleges and universities throughout the country in Asian, Arabic or African Studies [F28].

Proliferation of courses, because it implies dilution in content and quality, has been as much a concern in Black Studies as it is in most disciplines. The urge to create new courses is difficult to resist. When all the courses in all the catalogs are enumerated, one may get the impression of proliferation. However, evidence as revealed in individual college catalogs does not indicate unusual activity in this regard. On the basis of this evidence, one may conclude that restraint, rather than proliferation, characterizes the Black Studies curriculum. It may be conjectured that restraint is related to the criticism leveled at quality and excellence.

Few catalogs include courses on "soul food" and other topics that have been attacked as irrelevant and questionable. Courses on reverse racism and courses in Swahili or Ibo, two other groups under attack, are offered in few colleges. When enrollments are examined, it becomes evident that black students are as indifferent to language courses as are white students. If one were to judge by the number of courses in the community college catalogs and schedules of classes, the verdict would be that black and white administrators have been more than restrained—they appear to have been actually reluctant to introduce Black Studies courses. For example, a college with a 60 percent black enrollment offered only three courses for its 3,100 black students. Another, with 2,500 black students, offered eight, including three standard courses with a black emphasis. A third college with an 80 percent black enrollment offered five for 2,500 students. A fourth college with a 95 percent black enrollment (1,660 students) offered four courses. These can hardly be cited as examples of proliferation. Until fall 1970, they represented the situation in community colleges. Data from the questionnaire confirm this conclusion. Of the 229 institutions offering Black Studies courses in 1969-70, 193 reported fewer than five courses. (See Table 8)

The early insularity of excluding white students from classes reflected adversely on Black Studies. It was assumed that black students did not want to expose the lack of depth of the courses and their inability to compete with white students. Today, this practice has almost disappeared. The trend seems to be in the opposite direction, encouraging white students to enroll.

In concluding this section, it must be admitted that studies of the efficacy or the quality of Black Studies courses have not been made. This is a weakness of

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* To: All Black Faculty Members; From: Nine Black Faculty Members; Subject: Position of the Black Faculty; December 23, 1968 (ditto).

TABLE 8
NUMBER OF BLACK STUDIES COURSES OFFERED IN TWO-YEAR COLLEGES, 1969-1970 (N = 229)

Accrediting Region	1 only	2-4	5-7	8+
New England (N = 15)	11	4		
Middle States (N = 50)	23	25	2	
Southern (N = 31)	20	11		
North Central (N = 58)	30	21	3	4
Northwestern (N = 17)	5	10	2	
Western (N = 58)	13	20	13	12
Total	102	91	20	16

the evaluation. Of course, the same judgment can be made for general education or vocational-technical education or any subsection of these programs. The weakness here applies to nearly every aspect of education.

In Black Studies as in other fields, a great deal depends on the integrity and qualifications of the instructors. However, no one can expect that all black instructors will be superior or that all Black Studies courses will be taught excellently, any more than one expects this for the white instructors or for the standard subjects. "If black history is taught in the same pedantic manner as our book-oriented courses in white history, then black history will be just as irrelevant" [F35].

A moderate critic sums up the case by noting that Black Studies courses, as well as other courses, "are neither good nor bad *a priori,* but only in terms of what they are actually doing." They can be "an enrichment of the mind" or they can degenerate into "an exercise in glorified parochialism." They can be "avenues to wider knowledge or . . . detours into blind alleys of rhetoric and slogans" [F38:49-50].

CONTROL OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The more militant of the black students, faculty, and community leaders demand not only a Black Studies curriculum but also participation in decision making and, in some instances, control "over the educational system that shapes the minds of [black] youth" [F11].

Although, as was mentioned in the section "Ethnic Origin of Instructors" (page 42), black educators are in control as instructors and division chairmen of the Black Studies departments in most colleges included in this report, it is usually in the context of the overall organizational pattern of the colleges. What is involved in the larger issue is black independence from supervision by white administrators. This is in line with the still broader issue of separatism and self-determination. The extremists want to get rid of "the whole parasitical

white structure," including "landlords, merchants, realtors, racketeers, and politicians, union leaders, licensing and inspector bureaucrats, university and school administrators, doctors, lawyers, and policemen" [F39].

An educational leader with wide influence among black educators, Vincent Harding, Director of the Institute of the Black World, in Atlanta, believes that education for blacks

> . . . must be developed always within the context of the needs of the black community here and abroad, and not to the needs of American space, business or weapons technology . . . . No subject matter is neutral in the black university just as no subject matter is really neutral in the white university [F20].

The Black Studies Committee of California State College, Los Angeles, believes "control is the critical issue within the Black Studies program [because] . . . who controls the education, controls the minds of the people"[F4].

Sidney Walton, a former counselor at Merritt College, clearly stated the goal as control. He warned:

> Let no one be deceived and led to believe by enemies of the Black liberation struggle that the Black Curriculum is going to imitate the racist curricula of White America's schools. The present Afro-American Studies program was built into the white school structure only as an expedient measure. Ideally, Black schools, Black school districts, and Black universities are needed [E8:3].

In the urban communities with densely populated black areas where colleges are segregated (or will be in a few years unless present housing trends are reversed), control is passing to black administrators and faculty. As of 1970, about 14 non-Southern public community colleges have black presidents, and in some of them black instructors form the majority of the staff. In these colleges, the presidents, their staffs, and faculty have the opportunity to shape the institution in the direction espoused by militant black leaders. Black administrative control is not equivalent to separateness, as illustrated by Malcolm X, Oak Park, and Merritt colleges. There are still black presidents and faculty who favor integration or accommodation. They believe that the present gains in employment practices, in curriculum revision, and in enrollment policies have eliminated most of the evils against which they fought in the sixties.

Malcolm X College in Chicago comes closest to the black militants' ideal of control by the black community–students, faculty, staff, administrators, and others. It is considered "a prototype of the . . . educational system needed to solve the problems of black people"[F33]. On a smaller scale is Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought, established in a Sacramento black community by the Los Rios Community College District. The school offers courses in the late afternoon and evening hours and maintains a counseling service from ten o'clock in the morning until nine in the evening. Community participation is a feature of its operating procedure. Also unique is the supervision of the school by a student. As the need arises, more courses will be added to the program. During the spring of 1969, students led a campaign for community control of Seattle Community College. That effort failed, but it did result in the selection of a black president and the resignation of a white board member to make way for the appointment of a black trustee.

Community involvement, which has been an issue at Merritt College, California, for more than five years, came to a head recently with the decision to move the college to another location. After considering a request for community control of its old Merritt College flatlands campus, the Board of Trustees adopted a resolution expanding the concept of community participation to all the district's colleges. The four points of the resolution are:

1. that a working deadline for full development and implementation be set for July 1, 1971

2. that greater exposure of the board's recommendations to the community be accomplished through a series of scheduled hearings throughout the district

3. that the board commit itself to taking initiatives immediately in developing a workable model for community participation

4. that the Board of Trustees' proposed model be developed within the framework of the full legal implications of the laws of the State of California [E5; F31].

The black militants and others impatient of delay forced an early decision by occupying the Merritt College administration offices on February 1, 1971. That evening the board acceded to the demands for community control. Thus the goal of black control as outlined by Walton in 1969 is close to fruition [F26]. (On July 1, 1971, Merritt College, Grove Street Campus, ceased to be a satellite of its parent campus, which moved to a new location. A black administrator was appointed to provide planning leadership during the transition [E5].)

As the number of black presidents, faculty members, and trustees increases, the movement for black control of segregated colleges is likely to accelerate. In addition to the 14 presidents, a large number of black trustees and even more black instructors are now in community colleges. In many urban colleges, control of Black Studies programs is in the hands of black administrators and instructors. The next step, control of the total program, will follow. Malcolm X College, Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought, and Merritt College may be the forerunners of this development.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Assessing a movement as far-reaching as Black Studies poses some difficulties, especially since it is still vigorous and expanding. In this chapter, tentative statements are made concerning its impact on the educational enterprise. The introduction of Black Studies courses and the changes made in many of the traditional courses during the late 1960s constitute the most extensive modification of the community college curriculum since the addition of vocational-technical courses in the 1920s. Although not a major curriculum revolution, the introduction of Black Studies has had more significant implications than any other curriculum reform in the post-World War II period.

The Black Studies movement of the 1960s had its origins in the South, spread into the North during the 1950s, first as a sort of renaissance of interest in Negro history and literature, and then as a resurgence among blacks for a redefinition of the Black Experience by blacks for blacks.

In the community colleges, black students played a dominant role in the movement for Black Studies. In their position papers they enumerated the courses they wanted and defined the objectives. This is a singularly remarkable

phenomenon representing the first time in the history of the community college movement that students on a large scale have been directly involved in defining the goal-orientation of an educational program. Broadly speaking, the introduction of Black Studies (and other ethnic studies) courses and curriculums is one of the direct results of the student activist movement of the 1960s, ranking in importance with the Student Bill of Rights and the demise of the *in loco parentis* doctrine.

The success of the Black Studies movement has acted as a catalyst, causing other minorities to seek curriculum recognition. Ironically, success for the other minorities has meant subordination of Black Studies under an Ethnic Studies format with Mexican-American Studies, Asian-American Studies, Puerto Rican Studies, and others. Of the minority programs, however, Black Studies continues to be the most widespread.

Equally significant is the influence of the Black Studies movement on the standard courses and curriculums. Standard courses are being revised by instructors, individually and in concert with others, to include material on the Black Experience (and on other minorities). This process is most marked in American history and literature courses. Integrated courses and standard courses taught from a black perspective are appearing alongside Black Studies courses.

Community colleges in all parts of the country are offering Black Studies courses and programs, the largest number located in urban areas, followed by those in suburban areas and in Southern states. Rural colleges are least likely to have them.

The success of Black Studies depends on the number of black students enrolled. Enrollments have increased steadily, although not spectacularly. Black students form the majority in most Black Studies courses; the extent to which white students enroll is not known. In the beginning, their enrollment was discouraged by black students, but this is less true today. The general impression obtained from interviews with instructors is that white enrollment is small except in a few predominantly white colleges that offer a course or two.

From the titles of the courses included in the first four categories of this survey, it is apparent that Black Studies attempts to embrace the totality of knowledge of the black community not only in the United States, but also in Africa and other Third World countries. A strong focus of the courses is on the Black Experience in urban areas and on relationships with the dominant power structure, particularly with law enforcement agencies. Black Studies courses are designed to help black students:

a. seek their identity; to answer the question "Who Am I?"
b. bolster their sense of pride
c. gain insight into black culture and life
d. develop solidarity with all black people in their struggle for equality and respect.

Although courses and course titles have proliferated, American history and literature courses are the mainstay of Black Studies. Courses in African history, anthropology, art, music, psychology, and sociology are offered, but usually only in the very large colleges with a predominantly black enrollment. Few colleges offer more than six or seven separate courses.

Instructors of Black Studies courses tend to be black, although a few white instructors are assigned in some colleges. The early black student demand for black instructors made it difficult for white instructors to teach in these courses. White instructors in most of the inner-city colleges withdrew or were forced to withdraw from courses in Negro history and literature. Some slight evidence exists that this condition is abating.

Practice varies for the placement of Black Studies courses. In some colleges, they are organized in a separate department; in others, they are placed in the appropriate department–history, English, psychology. Often, Black Studies courses may be listed under both a Black Studies number and a departmental number. For example, History of the Black Experience in America may be listed as Black Studies 25 and also as History 10.

Colleges with many (5 or more) courses usually have a black chairman or coordinator of Black Studies. In the two-year colleges, autonomy of Black Studies departments in the form of independence from administrative control is much less prevalent than in the four-year colleges and universities.

Related to and accompanying the introduction of Black Studies courses is the increased attention to the literature of the black man and the Black Experience. In response to black student demands, "a wider variety of books, magazines, and periodicals is included in the school library."

Library materials on Black Studies have multiplied, as is evident from lists of holdings issued by community college librarians. A few examples are listed in the bibliography. In some libraries, a wing or section is devoted to books and periodicals by and about black people.

Textbooks are in short supply. Anthologies are fairly common. Periodical literature is abundant.

A concomitant development with Black Studies has been the increase in the number of black instructors, administrators, and other employees. As of 1970, approximately 14 non-Southern colleges had black presidents. A few colleges with a predominantly black enrollment also have large black administrative and instructional staffs. This development is likely to accelerate during the 1970s as the urban colleges become segregated because of housing patterns.

Critics of Black Studies include blacks as well as whites. One of the chief criticisms is that Black Studies is the attempt to develop a mythology based on the thesis that black is beautiful and white is ugly. Some practices that cause concern to black moderates as well as to the white community are:

1. indiscriminate development of courses in every area, e.g., Black Economics, Black Psychology, Black Meteorology
2. introducing courses without consultation with students, instructors, community
3. watering down courses
4. using Black Studies departments as indoctrination centers for the training of militant leaders
5. developing a black mythology
6. creating a reverse racism.

These practices are not widespread; they are the exception even among colleges with large black enrollments.

THE FUTURE OF BLACK STUDIES

As this study progressed, it became apparent (and probably should have been obvious) that Black Studies has different meanings for blacks, whites, and other minority groups. It has different emphases in all-white colleges, all-black colleges, and those in between. It may include one or two courses and a lecture or two, or it may involve ten to twenty courses and one or more curriculum patterns leading to an Associate in Arts degree with a major in Black Studies. Or at an all-black college it may mean an educational philosophy that commits the college "to serve the political, social, and economic as well as the educational needs of black people" [F33:32].

Black Studies in its broad sense involves more than the formal courses found in the catalog. It is a curriculum activity pervading the life and activities of the college. It includes the commemoration of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, and other heroes by declaring holidays on their birthdays or the anniversaries of their deaths, or by naming colleges, buildings, and malls in their honor.

It is "a number of seminars connected with an Alpha One Experimental College."*

It is a lecture or a series of lectures and discussions "on the black experience and the relationship of the black experience to the academic disciplines," offered under the auspices of a college's community service division. Displays, exhibits, performances, lectures, films, and television programs that deal with the myriad activities of black people belong in this area called Black Studies.**

It is a program—"72 Hours of Darkness"—sponsored by the Black Students Union of Moorpark College, California, "to create a black awareness within the white community and encourage young blacks toward higher education."***

It is a "School of Afro-American Thought" originated and developed by a Black Students' Union under the auspices of a college district; operated under a board of directors comprised of community leaders and college students; and designed to bring the services of the college to the community, to make the community aware of the value of education, and to offer a curriculum "to fill community needs" [A2p]. (For a fuller treatment of this subject, see the section on institutional aims and objectives beginning on page 29.)

In general, however, while recognizing the different interpretations and definitions of Black Studies, this study concentrated primarily on the courses and curriculums—that is, the activities associated with the study of an organized body of knowledge within the specified time of a semester, quarter, or year in a class or learning laboratory, involving the awarding of grades and the earning of credits toward a diploma, degree, and teaching credential. The future of Black Studies is linked with these activities rather than with the more dramatic and spectacular short-term programs mentioned above. The latter, of course, will continue, along with similar community service programs so fashionable today in community colleges.

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*John H. Anthony, Vice President–Instruction, College of DuPage, Illinois, to John Lombardi, October 7, 1970.

**Oakland Community College, Oakridge Campus, Michigan. "Black on Black," spring 1970 brochure, announcing the program of the first series of five sessions.

****California Junior College Association News*, 16:2, April 1971.

Some of the activities mentioned above (especially those relating to the Oak Park School of Afro-American Thought) can be classified under this restrictive definition. Although some doubt that a relevant program is possible with fewer than 20 to 30 black students, Black Studies courses offered in all-white colleges were included, since educating whites about blacks is an important objective of Black Studies [B11:7].

Although Black Studies was narrowly defined for this survey, the broader aspects of the movement have been incorporated wherever appropriate. Those parts of the report that seem ancillary to Black Studies are included because the narrow definition does not fit the expanding definition of Black Studies—no longer an isolated phenomenon. It is part of a larger movement variously called Black Power, Black Resurgence, Black Renaissance. As a consequence, a section or two of this report take on some of the attributes of the larger movement. This may explain the inclusion of some non-educational aspects of Black Studies.

With so many educators in the colleges translating the message of Black Studies, one may get the impression that no one knows what the message really means. Such an impression, though understandable, would be erroneous. The Black Studies movement is no more immune to different interpretations than is any other movement, political, religious, or economic. Sects are developing here as they have developed in the others. This does not diminish the importance of the movement or the stature of the individuals responsible for translating the philosophy of Black Studies into the life styles of the colleges. Underlying the variety is unity of purpose. There was rarely a moment of doubt concerning the classification of courses and curriculums as Black Studies or non-Black Studies.

The future of the Black Studies movement cannot be predicted on the basis of the available evidence. In this decade black administrators, faculty, and students will all play a leading role in guiding the movement and in shaping the philosophy of the urban community college.

Militants in the Black Studies movement want nothing less than "the total reorganization of knowledge and curriculum from a black perspective." Since the educational systems of the white west have had their chance "and failed, the blacks should demand the right to experiment with new directions, if initially only in black studies programs" [F19:84]. A college like Malcolm X in a Chicago ghetto should "serve the political, social and economic as well as the educational needs of black people." To the theorists, Black Studies implies a total transformation of the educational system, not a patchwork of isolated modifications.

With the appointment of black college presidents and the recruitment of more black instructors, the problem of identity, dignity, and respect for the black as a black will be less obtrusive. These educators, for the next decade at least, will not feel guilty of creating the frightening carbon copies of some of the worst curriculum practices "of the white colleges—a charge levelled at the Southern Negro colleges" [F19:91].

Transfer of control from whites to blacks has taken place in a few urban colleges. During this decade, it will be a commonplace phenomenon in our urban centers. As this happens, Black Studies will become firmly entrenched as a part of the curriculum.

Except for the rare case where an integrationist is president of a preponderantly black college, the educational program of such urban colleges will approximate the ideal of the theorists. In these colleges every facet of the educational enterprise will be directed toward fulfillment of the aims of Black Studies. The reorganization of knowledge from a black perspective will be a total activity.

Division or disagreement over the extent of Black Studies is and will continue to be most severe in colleges with mixed or integrated student bodies. In these colleges, pressures are more insistent and criticism more outspoken, especially where black students are not permitted to participate in development of the program. Charges of tokenism are still being made against administrators for not introducing more Black Studies courses and for not employing full-time black instructors and other personnel. The number of courses and the number of full-time instructors are barometers of a college's commitment to Black Studies. Employment of part-time instructors is considered a stop-gap—a form of tokenism. If a college cannot provide a full program of Black Studies courses for an instructor, it should permit him to teach courses in some allied department. The reverse process—using an instructor from a "regular" department to teach a Black Studies course—is frowned on by black militant students and educators.

In the majority of colleges, however, white educators will continue in control and will also influence the evolution of Black Studies. They will have the support of a large segment of black educators who favor an integrated approach to Black Studies. In their colleges are found the experiments in which standard courses are being adapted, broadened in scope, or taught with a "black emphasis." If these experiments satisfy enough black students, they may supplant the Black Studies courses. This is the hope of the black and white integrationists and the fear of the leaders of the Black Studies movement. It is too early to determine the direction Black Studies will take—separate courses, infusion of the Black Experience into every course, or a mixture of both.

Contradictory though it may sound, the introduction of Black Studies into the curriculum is in the tradition of higher education. Almost universally the militant students' demands were for inclusion of Black Studies courses in the established curriculum patterns. Some even preferred courses in the regular departments as differentiated from Afro-American or Black Studies departments. Some attempts were made to control the curriculum process, the selection and retention of instructors, and the approval of texts and library books, but these were largely unsuccessful. The mores of the community college are so firmly entrenched and the hierarchical organization so deeply embedded in American education that, with a minimum of stress, Black Studies was incorporated into the traditional academic and vocational courses. Moreover, the existence of ethnic courses in the curriculum provided examples and models for the militant students, as amply illustrated in their position papers [G6].

There is little evidence that the forms, the functions, or the curriculums are substantively different in colleges controlled by black administrators from what they are in those controlled by whites. Black administrators may evolve a new kind of college sometime in the future, but in the 1970s they are proceeding

along the traditional pathways. To expect them to do otherwise would be unreasonable, since all of them have been educated in the traditional system.

Negro history, Negro literature, and African history evoked no hysteria when introduced about a decade ago. In another decade, the same situation will prevail for the new and more numerous Black Studies courses, curriculums, and degree programs. Educators are showing less resistance to their introduction.

Black Studies courses are no longer a novelty. They are appearing in catalogs in all parts of the country. Even in the Southern colleges, resistance to them is weakening. The absence of Black Studies in some other sections of the country may be explained by the remoteness of the colleges from areas populated by a significant number of blacks.

A few educators are still impervious to the ferment swirling around them; some even hope that it will disappear without affecting them. Catalog descriptions of American literature courses, for example, rarely mention a black writer among those to be studied. Nor do they indicate that minority-group writers made any contributions to American literature. The situation in American history is slightly better. Fortunately, in the classroom, instructors are infusing their courses with material on the Black Experience.

Retarding this process is the absence of suitable textbooks. Few of those written by whites mention much beyond the political aspects of slavery. Most insert a few paragraphs here and there without really making their comments part of the fabric of American life. Some instructors have succeeded in making the Black Experience a continuous process in American history, not a series of isolated incidents in which discussion of the blacks relates only to the quarrels among the white politicians. The renaissance among the blacks has been a direct result of the rediscovery of the many books written by blacks in the past and the larger number now coming from the press. That many are hastily put together does not detract from the impact this new literature has had on all Americans. Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Eldridge Cleaver may arouse fear, but their contributions to black literature are not ignored.

Whatever may be said about the relevancy of Black Studies, the impact of the movement on the curriculum has been tremendous. Few courses remain untouched by it, and it has been important as the inspiration or model for Mexican-American, Latin-American, Puerto Rican-American, Asian-American, and Amerindian ethnic studies programs. So successful has this influence been that the offspring called "Ethnic Studies" may replace the term "Black" or "Afro-American Studies." Black Studies is in danger of being absorbed by or forced to share equal status with the other members of the ethnic studies family.

Regardless of the outcome of the issue of separatism vs. integration, and "even should Black Studies prove a passing fancy in academe, the flurry will have left a permanent mark on the teaching of all its parts. Imaginations– black and white–have been stretched; black experience can never again be neglected as it once was by the academic world" [F6:13].

This look into the future must re-emphasize the thesis that the Black Studies movement, like its progenitor or contemporary, the Black Power movement, has not created a new form of education or society. Nor is it likely to in the immediate future. The addition of courses, curriculums, and personnel has been

accomplished within the setting of traditional educational practice. Even the rhetoric of the extremists fails to obscure the reality that accommodation rather than substitution is the probable outcome of the movement. Since black students and educators are Americans and not Africans, and since the overwhelming majority are destined by choice or by force of circumstances to remain in this country, the choice between moving into the mainstream of American society and separating from it is not real. Segregation is neither *apartheid* nor separation. Parallel to segregation there is educational, economic, political, and some social integration on a wider scale than ever before. Herein are the real gains of the Black Studies and Black Power movements. Black students' selection of courses and curriculums will be influenced by their perceptions of the benefits to be derived from them as much as by ideology. As this becomes evident to white administrators, Black Studies courses and curriculums will be looked on as broadening the opportunities for white students as well as for black. At the same time, they are a means of doing justice to the black people's contributions to American life and a means of instilling pride of heritage in black students.

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F30. *Newsweek,* October 19, 1970, p. 80.
F31. *Peralta Colleges Bulletin,* January 22, 1971.
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F36. Randolph, A. Philip. *Los Angeles Times,* Part 1A, p. 2, March 31, 1969.
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F38. Sowell, Thomas. "A Black Professor Says: Colleges Are Skipping over Competent Blacks to Admit 'Authentic' Ghetto Types." *New York Times Magazine,* December 13, 1970, pp. 36-52. In addition to criticizing admission policies, the author has some moderately critical comments on Black Studies.
F39. Turner, James. "Blacks in the Cities: Land and Self-Determination." *The Black Scholar,* 1:9, April 1970.
F40. Ward, F. Champion. *Phi Delta Kappan,* 51:46, September 1969.
F41. Whittemore, Reed. "Black Studies in Glass Houses." A critical review of Black Studies, as described in articles in *Amistad I,* appears in the *New Republic,* 162:25-27, May 9, 1970. The reviewer maintains that black educators "are in danger of duplicating the very worst errors of the whites."
F42. Wilcox, Preston. Foreword to "Black Curriculum: Developing a Program in Afro-American Studies," S. Walton (ed.). East Palo Alto, Calif.: Black Liberation Publishers, 1969.
F43. Wilkins, Roy. "Negro History or Mythology." *Freedom House Newsletter,* July 1969, p. 5-6. Criticizes television series on Negro heritage for its "leftism" and cult of "blackism." The author, executive

director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has written other critical columns and articles.

G. *ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges* has several publications about Black Studies.

G1. Gaddy, Dale. "Researchers Study Junior College Student Activism." *Junior College Research Review,* May 1970, p. 2-4. ED 038 963.

G2. Gaddy, Dale. *Student Activism and the Junior College Administrator: Judicial Guidelines.* Topical Paper No. 3. ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, UCLA, December 1968. ED 026 039.

G3. Lombardi, John. "Black Studies." *Junior College Research Review,* February 1970, p. 7-9. ED 035 415.

G4. Lombardi, John and Quimby, Edgar A. *Black Studies as a Curriculum Catalyst.* ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges Topical Paper No. 22. UCLA, May 1971.

G5. Lombardi, John. "Faculty Reaction to Black Student Demands: 1968-69." *Junior College Research Review,* May 1970, p. 12-15. ED 038 963.

G6. Lombardi, John. *Position Papers of Black Student Activists.* ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges Topical Paper No. 12. UCLA, September 1970. ED 042 453.

G7. Lombardi, John. *The President's Reaction to Black Student Activism.* ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges Topical Paper No. 16. UCLA, January 1971. ED 046 390.

G8. Lombardi, John. *Student Activism in Junior Colleges: An Administrator's View.* ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges Monograph No. 6. Washington, D.C.: American Association of Junior Colleges, April 1969. ED 028 767.

G9. Lombardi, John (comp.). *Black Student Activitists–Position Papers and Reactions to Them from Twelve Colleges,* September 1970 (Mimeo). ED 041 578.

APPENDIX A

COMMUNITY COLLEGE BLACK STUDIES QUESTIONNAIRE

I. ETHNIC COMPOSITION

1. Number of full-time day faculty members 1969-70 _____
2. Number of part-time day faculty members 1969-70 _____
3. Number of full-time black faculty members 1969-70 _____
4. Number of part-time black faculty members 1969-70 _____
5. Number of full-time and part-time day students 1969-70 _____
6. Approximately what percentage of your students is black?
   0-10%___ 11-20%___ 21-30%___ 31%___
7. Did you complete an ethnic survey during 1969-70 yes___ no___

II. BLACK STUDIES COURSES

8. Does your college offer any courses in Black Studies? yes___ no___
   If you responded "yes" to this item, please complete this section only; otherwise please respond only to the questions in section III.
9. When did your college first offer at least one course in Black Studies?
   Before 1965___ 1965-66___ 1966-67___
   1967-68___ 1968-69___ 1969-70___
10. How many courses in Black Studies did your college offer in 1969-70? _____
11. Does your college offer a major in Black Studies? yes___ no___
12. Does your college offer an inter-disciplinary major that includes Black Studies? yes___ no___
13. How many of your instructors teach courses in Black Studies? _____
14. How many black instructors teach courses in Black Studies? _____

III. CURRICULUM

15. Do any of the course descriptions in your catalogue or bulletin note that specific attention is devoted to black history, black leaders, black culture, etc.? yes___ no___
16. Insofar as you know, have any of your college's courses of instruction been placing greater emphasis—since the mid-1960's—on the blacks' contributions to and accomplishments in American society? yes___ no___
17. Has there been a concerted effort on the part of students, instructors, or others to press your college into offering courses in Black Studies? yes___ no___
18. Do you plan to offer any courses in Black Studies within the next two or three school years? yes___ no___

Name of College _____

State _____

Name/Title of Respondent _____

APPENDIX B

BLACK STUDIES PROJECT ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS

Mildred Bastian, Associate Director
Citizenship Education Clearinghouse
St. Louis, Missouri

Sanford Bishop, President
Mobile State Junior College
Mobile, Alabama

George Farmer, Professor
Afro-American Studies
West Los Angeles College
Los Angeles, California

Donald Godbold, Dean
City Community College of Denver
Denver, Colorado

Larnie Horton, President
Kittrell College
Kittrell, North Carolina

Charles G. Hurst, President
Malcolm X Community College
Chicago, Illinois

Dorothy M. Knoell
Dean of Academic Programs
California Community Colleges
Sacramento, California

William Moore, Jr., President
Seattle Central Community College
Seattle, Washington

Lonnie Peek
Coordinator of Black Studies
Wayne County Community Colleges
Detroit, Michigan

Norvel Smith, President
Merritt College
Oakland, California

Claude Ware, Assistant Dean
Los Angeles City College
Los Angeles, California